Editorial Comment
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Citizens' Councils Idea "Takes"

AN UNEXPECTED cry of "halt" that recently rang through the corridors of the municipal building at Cleveland informed the startled city administrators that while citizens demanded economy they could become indignant and aroused to action should services be threatened which they considered essential. Orders to close the Women's Bureau of the police department and a farm for delinquent girls, and the threatened closing of the State-City Free Employment Bureau were met by the rallying of more than a dozen women's organizations in the city who formed emergency committees for immediate action to block this program, and undertook the organization of a central committee made up of representatives of the various protesting organizations to carry on the fight.

The alertness to civic affairs and willingness for action evidenced by the Cleveland organizations in this instance are typical of an attitude that is becoming increasingly apparent as a result of responses to the suggestion recently made by the National Municipal League and fifty other national organizations that Citizens' Councils for Constructive Economy should be organized in every community in the country.

Since the announcement in last month's REVIEW of the plan under which more than fifty national organizations are uniting to encourage their members to participate in the organization of local Citizens' Councils for Constructive Economy, inquiries have come to the National Municipal League from all sections of the United States. Groups of citizens interested in reducing governmental costs without curtailing essential services are welcoming the suggestion of a device through which they may unite with other groups having a similar interest and thus make their desires more articulate and their recommendations more forceful.

Dayton, Ohio, is the first large city to have completed its organization of a Citizens' Council for Constructive Economy, and a smaller city in Illinois has reported the organization of such a council. In several cities committees of civic organizations are drawing up plans for the organization of councils.

The central organization of the movement has been perfected by the establishment of headquarters at the office of the National Municipal League. Professor Thomas H. Reed, of the University of Michigan, will serve as chairman of a Committee of Citizens' Councils for Constructive Economy, which will include all of the original sponsors of the Citizens' Councils movement and the members of the original National

Municipal League Committee on Constructive Economy. Carl H. Milam, secretary of the American Library Association, Chicago; Dr. C. R. Mann, director of the American Council on Education, Washington, D. C.; and Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of *The American City,* New York, will be vice-chairmen of the committee. An executive committee within the large committee is in process of formation. Howard P. Jones, editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, will serve as secretary of this committee.

Arrangements have been made to utilize the radio to encourage formation of councils. Following the series of "You and Your Government" programs which ends in June, a series of fifteen half-hour weekly broadcasts on Citizens' Councils will be sent out over the NBC network.

Some misunderstanding of the purpose of Citizens' Councils has been evidenced in letters whose writers have asked whether councils would not be duplicates of local taxpayers' associations or similar bodies. It should be emphasized that we are not proposing to set up a new organization or agency in any locality but merely to set up machinery that will permit existing organizations to coöperate effectively in their common aim to achieve wise economy in government.

Several communities have reported representative groups of citizens already in existence which may be utilized as the nuclei of Citizens' Councils. In some cities the group has been formed to study and work for the improvement of a particular department of the city government. A citizens' group in Racine, Wis., for example, has been at work for some time on the school problem. Interested in the possibilities of functioning in a broader way, members of this organization are investigating the possibilities of using it as the nucleus of a Citizens' Council. In Milwaukee there is a Community Service League, and St. Louis has a Citizens' Council for Good Government.

While stimulus for organization can come from headquarters, the actual formation of a council depends in the last word upon an individual—the person who takes it upon himself to arrange a meeting with five or more other persons, representatives of clubs or other civic groups in the city. If such a council has not yet been formed in your city, you who are reading this may be the one to take the initiative.

Widespread attention has been focussed upon Citizens' Councils through the interest of the fifty-two national organizations sponsoring the movement. Most of these organizations have published announcements and editorials in their monthly publications or bulletins through which they urge their members to coöperate in the formation of councils in their communities. Several organizations have sent letters to each of their members urging even more strongly that they take the initiative in local action. The immediate and important step is to unite the efforts of the civic groups of the community who are working for constructive economy in local government.

Developments in the organization of Citizens' Councils in your locality should be reported to the National Municipal League office as soon as possible.

HEADLINES

The Detroit city council appeals to the United States Public Health Service after receiving word that the Detroit Reduction Company, which disposes of the city garbage, will have to suspend operations because the city cannot pay its $60,000 bill. Meanwhile, City Controller Rightor begins negotiations toward refunding bonds maturing in June.

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Two-thirds of the bonds issued by Kansas City during the past two years will remain unpaid twenty years after issue, and in many cases the public improvements they were to finance will be worn out long before the bonds are retired, according to the Civic Research Institute.

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A curious reversal of the popular trend to reduce the operations of government to the so-called "essentials" (fill in your own definition) is to be observed in the Pennsylvania legislature where real enthusiasm is being manifested for old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, and other social legislation. Greater security for the worker will undoubtedly be one of the results of the depression but in most states protective legislation will probably await better times and fatter governmental purses.

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Consolidation of the relief activities of Rochester and Monroe County, N. Y., is being discussed seriously. Ever since the beginning of the depression, there has been in most sections a deplorable lack of coördination in the work of the various public and private relief agencies; so much so that welfare "racketeering" has become a definitely recognized evil. Unification of such work in a central county unit under trained leadership such as is proposed should accomplish much toward efficiency and equity.

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Town halls were too small to hold citizens of New England who thronged to town meetings—that famed institution of "pure" democracy—this spring to demand reductions in budgets. Voting in town elections reached record heights. In Ipswich, Mass., 2,057 of the town's 2,400 registered voters went to the polls. In one town in New Hampshire, a wife provided chuckles for years to come by defeating her husband in the race for treasurer.

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A resolution to put on the ballot a constitutional amendment which would permit counties in Oregon to adopt the county manager plan has passed the legislature.

A bill providing for local referendum on consolidation of Buffalo and Pepin Counties, Wis., has been introduced into the legislature. A report by Professors Walter R. Sharp and George S. Wehrwein indicates considerable savings would result from the merger.

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The retrenchment ax leaves serious wounds when swung carelessly or with such vigor it slices far deeper than is the intent of the ax-man. In Kings County Hospital, Brooklyn, N. Y., 2,300 patients are crowded in the rooms and corridors of a 100-year old building where there are accommodations for but 1,660. And there is but one nurse for every eighty patients.

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The Chicago public library, due to a curtailed budget, has been unable to purchase a single book in the last eighteen months. A tax strike complicates Chicago's troubles, of course, but the deterioration of a library is a wormhole in the fabric of civilization itself.

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And consider Alabama where 85 per cent of the elementary and secondary schools are now closed and where some counties have returned to the three months' public school term of a generation ago. To be sure, something drastic had to be done in Alabama's financial crisis, but did the citizens of tomorrow have to be sacrificed for the folly of the citizens of today?

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Two bills pending in the Illinois legislature would emasculate civil service in that state. One which was reported out of committee favorably would limit the application of the state civil service act to the public welfare department alone; the other would repeal the state civil service act entirely. Presumably, these bills are advanced in the interest of economy which is not unlike liberty in the number of crimes which are committed in its name.

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On the other hand, there are the elective officers of Jefferson County, Pa., who met solemnly and held they could not reduce their salaries because they had a definite social status to maintain to which salary reduction would have been detrimental, not to say suicidal.

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There are, however, a few bright spots in the month's record. The principles of constructive economy are beginning to be better appreciated. One straw in the wind is the meeting of representatives of twenty-eight Chicago civic organizations with park officials and members of the legislature to lay plans for the consolidation of Chicago's many park districts into one unit. Elimination of the overhead involved in too many governments may not appeal to political bosses, but it's excellent economy.

A Challenge to Reform

Taxpayers organizations which have sprung up like mushrooms over the country provide at once menace and opportunity

EDWARD M. BARROWS

Formerly of REVIEW OF REVIEWS

TAXPAYERS on the rampage, slashing blindly at schools, police, parks, pension bureaus—any institution whose budget can be reached with a vote—are a cause of concern among practical civic workers. In the efforts of the amateur tax-reform groups that are hurrying into action everywhere, they perceive a vague, somewhat hysterical but very insistent force, swayed by the surface of local influences, and in many instances doing more harm than good.

The multiplication of these local taxpayers' associations from scores into thousands in the last few years is a fact well known to most students of American civic trends. Yet it is not easy to gather exact information as to their distribution, numbers, motives, and methods. A study of such sources as are available and authentic indicates that there are not less than three thousand and probably not more than four thousand such local groups now in action, and that their number is rapidly increasing, due to a complexity of pressures, local and state. They are no part of any "national movement," though they represent public opinion in an even truer sense, for they personify the popular thought of thousands of communities crystallizing into national sentiment. In their announced purposes they range all the way from blunt statements of intention to force a reduction of taxes regardless of any other effect, to the searching platform of the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, "organized to study taxes to the end that they may be reasonable and levied with the lightest possible burden consistent with good government."

A NEW FORCE IN GOVERNMENT

If for no other reasons than their numbers and their nation-wide distribution, this throng of citizens' tax reduction organizations unquestionably represents a new force of unknown potential strength in the present recrudescence of public interest in matters of government. This statement does not apply to the organized, publicized, professionally led national tax bodies formed to reduce specific taxes, though these also have their meaning in this unrestful epoch. It applies—to forge out a working definition that will delimit this survey—to the organizations of voters within a given political area that are formed to deal primarily with problems of taxation and all its implications within the boundaries of that area. These differ basically from the national organizations in that their work is regional and deals with taxation at large, whereas the national bodies tend to ignore regions and consider the incidence of specific taxes.

It is a curious fact that while tax reduction is in everyone's mind today, the campaign to reduce taxes consists of many minute, independent local efforts. Yet, when through examination of their

reports and bulletins the activities of several hundreds of these organizations are passed in review, common characteristics reveal themselves and certain gradations stand out. An unknown number of tax-reform bodies are created out of special committees of Chambers of Commerce and allied organizations. The taxpayers of many cities are organized by wards which may or may not be parts of a central association. Then there are city, township, county, and in a great majority of the states, state associations. The county associations, which may pass under various names, seem to be the foci —naturally enough when we consider the importance of the county in the American political structure.

Except for the larger cities, the county association generally affiliates all of the smaller units under its leadership, and generally has an independent membership list in addition. The county organizations in turn are units of the state bodies whose governing boards usually are composed of delegates from the counties plus an independent membership of leading citizens. The state organizations generally are on a different footing from the local groups. They are apt to be professionally led by salaried directors familiar with American civic problems and with American politics. Their work is to harmonize the efforts of the local associations into effective state action. With the state, overhead organization seems to end at present.

THE "BUSINESS MAN" GETS BUSY

The county associations and their prototypes in the larger towns are the crux of the problem that these mass efforts at tax reduction is creating. It is their activities that are at once the hope and the despair of present-day civic progress. The majority of them were born in a heat of public excitement over some spectacular revelation involving oppressive taxes and whatever one may think of their vigilant methods, one cannot escape the conclusion that such methods are often a logical outcome of the conditions which caused their emergence.

Naturally such a genesis has put the tax associations on a totally different basis from the ordinary "reform," or from the scientifically conceived civic association. Their leaders are apt to be business men of force and standing in their communities, who are volunteering their services. They go at matters with the business man's, and not the welfare worker's, methods. They bring to their work the business man's tenacity and singleness of purpose and, most important to be borne in mind here, with the average business man's limited knowledge of welfare work, civil administration and politics. But they are long used to sticking to a thankless task until they get the results they started after. They have good advertising facilities and they know how to appeal to the public. Always allowing for the vicious exceptions who invariably attract the most public notice, they are in genuine earnest, and their belief that their cause is the cause of good government is as sincere as that of the most devoted apostle of municipal research. These are the aspects that are making the work of these leaders a force for good or evil according to circumstances, but always a force to be reckoned with. The events of the next few months, it is predicted, will give strength to that assertion.

HOW THEY WORK

The quality of leadership in these lay tax-reform efforts is stressed here because in this as in everything else the real work is done by the leaders. The masses follow, approve their successes, and condemn their failures. The business background of most of these leaders and the nature of the task they are trying to accomplish gives a natural bent to their efforts which is everywhere evident. Their first need is to rally public opinion and keep it alive in their support.

Advertising, in other words. They do this with membership campaigns, with news letters and bulletins, with a certain amount of public speaking and with a tactful coöperation with the local papers. Second, they must establish lines of pressure on their local governments, and personal influence on office-holders. Overcoming sales resistance. This is done by a systematic attendance at all meetings of boards, commissions, and common councils and by personal contact with officials. Finally they must have facilities for formulating and putting through legislation, which is the direct salesmanship that leads to signatures on the dotted line. This requires that they keep on good terms with the political majorities, and keep in touch with their representatives at the state capitol. The activities of most of the county associations, except in so far as they work with the state taxpayers' organizations in matters of state-wide importance, fall roughly into these three general lines.

This may sound like a logical, simple, and irresistible program. As a matter of fact, it is this queer application of business to politics that is causing so much disruption in so many vital phases of local government. The businessman tax-reformer is efficient in his sales technique, but he does not know his product, because he is dealing with forces he has never encountered—frequently he never heard of them before he began his work. Thus he is proceeding from the known to the unknown with a vengeance. When the local organizations go deeply into tax expenditures they find themselves facing the need of fundamental political changes.

THE POLITICAL MACHINE ON THE JOB

At this point they encounter a system as evasive as it is impregnable. The powerful county and state political machines have no wish to have their patronage of contracts, perquisites and office sinecures disturbed, and they have made a profession of seeing that they are not disturbed. There are a thousand ways in which the politician can make economy a greater burden to the voter than high taxes and most of these ways are being tried in communities where the politician has had tax reduction forced upon him, without any knowledge by the taxpayer with the whip-hand of just what tax reduction involves. A favorite method of creating disgust with an economy program is to interfere with the tax-supported welfare activities, especially those dealing with libraries, public recreation, child welfare, and with educational experiment.

Political cunning rises to sublime heights in this. The politician is aware that the technique of dealing with these important functions is costly and highly specialized, that the trained workers in charge of them generally are not subject to political influence, and that the rank and file of taxpayers do not understand the benefits they bring to the community. His trump card is the fact that these activities generally are promoted by influential women's clubs, by the clergy, and by others who consider themselves the social and ethical leaders of the community. He knows also that these people have their favorite projects, and often are interested personally in the public servants conducting them. By picking out such projects to bear the brunt of tax economy the politician kills a whole flock of birds with one stone. He complies literally with the tax organization's demand for cheaper government. He attacks a phase of government that seems inconsequential to the voters and is a nuisance to the party machine. He sets the most influential element of the community at loggerheads with the taxpayers' organizations, and while these warring elements are fighting it out among themselves, he can continue his own peculiar reforms undisturbed. Yet no one can accuse him of

other than doing his conscientious best to carry out the will of the taxpayers.

THE MENACE OF THE TAX REVOLT

This is but a composite picture of the situation in countless American communities. It is easy to understand then why the growing tax revolt is causing so much disquiet among sincere believers in the American system of local self-government. It is no accident that in many places the institutions that represent the most advanced ideals of public service are being made to bear the brunt of the battle for lower taxes, while machine-filled public sinecures with their burdens of useless expense are untouched. The bulk of the volunteer leaders in the present tax-reform movement have never given serious thought to the tremendous advances in education, public health, public recreation, and such purely service phases of civil government since their own childhood. One hears the terms "frills," "fads," "folderols" from these leaders too often for comfort. Yet there is intelligence, earnestness, and sincerity in their efforts; they need to be shown.

The responsibility for showing them rests squarely upon the trained advocates of better government. These have always lamented the lack of interest in local government exhibited by the "thinking people." The "thinking people" are aroused now, and are using their influence in ways the civic leaders have not anticipated. What are they going to do about it? Clearly this tentative attempt to wrest control of government from politics by business puts the need for public education in civil government to the front in our mare's-nest of civic problems. The kind of public education called for cannot be met by community centers and talks on good government to high schools and Rotary Clubs. The tax reducers must be taught to know good government when they see it and this is going to require tact and exceedingly low visibility on the part of their teachers.

THE NEED FOR FUNDAMENTAL REORGANIZATION

This brings us to the most important aspect of all of these local tax-reform activities. They show indications of a strange evolution. More and more, their interests are turning from high taxes *per se* to questions of government which underlie high taxes. They may start with a direct campaign to reduce the figures in the tax budget. Quickly they find that high taxes are more than a matter of occasional graft and extravagance, but are inherent in some of our outmoded forms of government. They begin to see, for instance, what the city manager plan means and why it works better than the weak mayor plan. When they discover this, they promptly seek to change out-moded forms. When they find that these forms have their roots in state government, they are as prompt to carry their campaigns to the legislatures. On more than one occasion they have discovered that the legislatures have acted according to constitutional mandates, and then they have not hesitated to agitate for constitutional reforms. This is no theoretical description. That evolution of interest is actually occurring today in numbers of taxpayers' associations all over the country.

Here are allies indeed for the advocates of governmental reconstruction. When one studies the objectives of the more advanced of these organizations, one is impressed with their commonness of purpose with the city and regional planning forces, and with the advocates of the city and county manager plans. The tax-reform associations are after simplicity, sound financing, and centralized responsibility in local government. In these efforts they are on solid

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Are We Paying Too Much for Electricity?

Conference on distribution costs indicates rate to consumer ordinarily should not exceed four cents

JOHN BAUER *Director, The American Public Utilities Bureau*

ONE of the chief uncertainties in electric rate regulation has been the cost of distributing electricity to consumers after it has been produced and has reached the point of distribution.

The cost of generating or producing current has become established within fairly definite limits. For most communities of, say 25,000 population and over, power can be produced at an average over-all cost of approximately one cent per kilowatt-hour or a maximum of 1.5 cents. This includes taxes and return on investment, together with all operating expenses. It covers also transmission costs where the communities are served through high-tension transmission. Under favorable circumstances, the production cost is even less than one cent per kilowatt-hour.

Compared with the low production costs, which are widely known to be low, the prevailing rates for residential, commercial, and municipal consumers, appear strikingly high. In most communities served by private utilities, the net rate for the ordinary residential consumer who uses about 40 or 50 kilowatt-hours per month, is near seven cents per kilowatt-hour. On the basis of one cent or 1.5 cents for production, he pays six cents or 5.5 cents for distribution. In many instances, the disparity is much greater but in some not so great.

The question whether rates are reasonable, particularly for the residential classes, largely involves distribution costs. The production factor can be readily determined within narrow margins. It is in the distribution area where there has been a glaring lack of information, together with inadequate standards of cost determination. Furthermore, in the professional literature and discussion there has been little consideration given to distribution costs. This has been true, especially, among engineering groups, which are most directly concerned with the properties and operations involved in the distribution of electricity.

INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ENGINEERING

For the first time, the subject of electric distribution costs has received sole consideration in a public conference organized primarily for engineers. This was the Institute of Public Engineering for the discussion of the cost of electrical distribution, an all-day conference at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, early this year. It was organized on the initiative of the Power Authority of the State of New York, especially through the efforts of Morris Llewellyn Cooke, one of the trustees of the Power Authority. The official sponsors included also the Public Service Commission of New York, the Public Service Commission of Pennsylvania, and the Public Utilities Commission of the District of Columbia.

The Institute was attended not only by engineers and other technical em-

ployees of the participating public bodies, but especially by company engineers, managers and other technicians connected directly with electric distribution. The attendance was far beyond expectation, reflecting the importance of the subject and interest on the part of the professional groups.

The program centered upon distribution costs. Its object was to bring out the available information, to indicate objectives for future classification, determination, and control of distribution costs, and to establish reasonable standards of comparison. The two pivotal papers were those presented by Hudson W. Reed, managing engineer, United Gas Improvement Company, and by Clayton W. Pike, consulting engineer, Philadelphia.

Mr. Reed recognized the absence and the desirability of proper standards of comparison between different companies. He set out the principal objects to be attained, and explained the chief points of variability among different companies. Because of the great differences in conditions, he doubted the practicability of establishing standards which can be satisfactorily applied to individual instances without special consideration of local circumstances.

Mr. Pike recognized that there are wide variations, but he nevertheless held that approximate standards can be established and reasonably applied to varying conditions. He made a survey and analysis of distribution costs for the average residential consumer under normal conditions in the state of New York. While his results must be taken as tentative, they are extremely interesting and instructive for future study, especially in connection with the extensive rate adjustment that will doubtless be undertaken during the next few years. His analysis was based upon a comprehensive survey of companies which reported to the Public Service Commission of New York for the year 1930.

THE AVERAGE CONSUMER

Mr. Pike divided the distribution costs between fixed charges dependent upon distribution investment, and operating costs incurred in the maintenance and operation of the distribution properties. Each element of cost was analyzed separately and applied to what was taken to be the average or *normal* residential consumer. This normal consumer was assumed to be supplied through an overhead distribution system, with 500 feet of conductor wire, and a consumption of 550 kilowatt-hours a year. For this average customer Mr. Pike established the following normal investment:

Distribution line (including poles, wire, and all appurtenances)	$30.00
Line transformers	6.50
Services and meters	15.00
General investment	3.50
Total	$55.00

These averages represent Mr. Pike's judgment after careful analysis of available figures. They reflect, moreover, the high costs of installation during and since the War, the period during which the distribution properties were mostly developed. They are higher than present costs following the sharp decline in prices during the past three years.

Mr. Pike allowed an aggregate of 11.5 per cent as fixed charges upon the average investment of $55.00 per residential customer. This includes 7 per cent as return upon the investment; 3 per cent for depreciation; and 1.4 per cent for taxes. The total was rounded out to 11.5 per cent. On this basis, Mr. Pike found that the fixed charges on distribution investment for the residential customer amounted to $6.35 per year. To this he added $6.60 for operating expenses and obtained a grand total of $12.95, rounded off to $13.00 per

year, to cover all distribution costs for the ordinary customer.

At an annual consumption of 550 kilowatts and a total cost of $13 per year, the average cost for distribution thus amounts to 2.36 per cent per kilowatt-hour. This is presented as a standard that ought to be attainable under ordinary conditions for the average residential consumer.

Where conditions do not conform to the normal as assumed in Mr. Pike's estimate, adjustments must be made according to the variation. If, for example, the average consumption is more or less than 550 kilowatt-hours, the amount of the investment will be somewhat affected. Likewise if the average length of distribution wire is less or greater than 500 feet, an adjustment must be made accordingly. Thus there are two principal factors. First, the extent of average consumption—the final cost per kilowatt-hour decreases as consumption per customer increases. Second, the consumer density—the more customers per mile of line, the less the cost per customer and the lower the final cost per kilowatt-hour. There are also other factors of variation—differences in type of distribution plant, differences in municipal requirements, and differences in level of costs incurred for labor and materials.

RATES AND COSTS

Rounded out into a conveniently used figure, the total distribution cost comes to 2.5 cents per kilowatt-hour for the ordinary residential customer. If to this is added one cent for production, we have a total of 3.5 cents per kilowatt-hour as the cost of producing and delivering electricity. If, however, a rather liberal allowance is made, 1.5 cents per kilowatt-hour of production, we have a total of four cents per kilowatt-hour as the aggregate cost of producing and delivering electricity to the ordinary household. This stands in striking contrast with the rates that prevail in most communities. At existing rates, the ordinary domestic consumer using 550 kilowatt-hours a year usually pays seven cents or more per kilowatt-hour. There are relatively few instances where the rate for such a consumer comes to six cents or less per kilowatt-hour.

If Mr. Pike is anywhere nearly right, the conclusion follows that electric rates for domestic users are grossly excessive in most communities, compared with cost of service. Furthermore, the four cent over-all cost, including liberal production as well as distribution, is based upon the high level of investment costs incurred during the fifteen years prior to 1929. Nor does it take into account depreciation of properties. It takes operating expenses for 1930. It does not, therefore, take into account present cost levels as applied either to property or operating expenses. Nor does it allow for the greater economy that will be required in the future of electric companies just as of government and non-competitive business.

The four cents per kilowatt-hour for the normal consumer is set up as the standard which should be reasonably attained in most communities, say, of 25,000 population and upward. By strict economy and revaluation of the distribution properties according to the present price level, the normal might be considerably reduced. If, then, rate adjustments are widely made according to cost of service, there will be not only drastic slashing of rates, but that will be followed by sharp increases in consumption. The high rates have been responsible for low consumption.

PROMOTING CONSUMPTION

The relation of distribution costs, rates, average consumption, and the possibilities of greatly enlarging domestic utilization, was considered casually by

most of the speakers at the Institute. It was emphasized, particularly, by J. D. Ross, superintendent of the municipal lighting department, Seattle, whose experience was presented in the public utilities department of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January, 1932. Through low rates designed particularly on promotional lines, supported by active promotional efforts, the city of Seattle succeeded in raising the average consumption per domestic customer from thirty-one kilowatt-hours per month in 1920 to nearly 100 kilowatt-hours in 1931.

As rates are reduced, with suitable classification and effort to stimulate domestic use, the per capita consumption increases and places the utility upon a broader and more stable basis financially. High rates have not only placed an excessive burden upon the residential consumers, but have prevented utilization and have held back the development of consumption. Reduction in rates, therefore, consistent with economically fixed costs, will not only relieve the burden of the ordinary consumer, but will stimulate much greater use for various domestic purposes.

The result of the conference will undoubtedly be to promote study and analysis of distribution costs. Mr. Pike particularly has furnished a challenge to the industry. We may reasonably hope for much better cost classification and determination, for increasing distribution economy, for continued discussion and research, for substantial reduction in rates, and for marked advances in the industry.

A CHALLENGE TO REFORM

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ground, and in them their leadership shows to best advantage. It is their lack of knowledge concerning the social aspects of modern local government that calls their work into question. In these matters they lack sources of information. They are not advanced yet to the point of exchanging information and experience on a national scale and so far there has been no organic attempt to influence their point of view.

Dubious as are many of their present efforts, therefore, this new force in American local civics has possibilities. It contains within itself the germs of a thoroughgoing governmental house cleaning such as this country never before has witnessed. It contains also the seeds of retrogression and destruction. Which possibilities will prevail may depend a great deal upon the kind of attention they receive from their better trained co-workers in the field of civic advance.

The recent recommendation of some fifty national organizations that a citizens' council be formed in each community in the country has great possibilities in this connection. A citizens' council in which representatives of various local civic organizations (which of course include taxpayers' groups) would thrash out the community problems and reach a well-considered program agreeable to all would serve almost automatically to check hysterical cries for tax reduction "regardless" and would at the same time put into the hands of harassed taxpayers the weapons for reduction of taxes through elimination of waste.

Financial Dictators Replace Political Boss

"Invisible Government" by bankers holds potentialities for good or ill; shift in power probably temporary

BY WILLIAM C. BEYER *Director, Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia*

II

IMPLICATIONS OF THE SHIFT

WE MAY now consider some of the implications of this shift of power from the political boss to the financier.

Political Resistance to Good Government

Those who have been giving of their time and energy, or of their means, or of both, to the cause of better city government in the United States know well that in the forefront of the resistance to better government has been the political organization. In our large cities especially, the so-called "political machine" has been held together primarily by patronage in all its varied forms, not by any crusading zeal for the public good. It has profited from jobs, from contracts, from franchises, from special privileges, from vice. Incidentally it has performed the legitimate function of operating our cumbersome election machinery, of filling our multitudinous elective offices, and of giving cohesion to our highly decentralized governments.

But the price to the taxpayer has been heavy. That price has consisted not only of the patronage exacted by the political organization, but also of the failure of his city government to employ the most economical and most efficient methods in carrying on its business. Improvements in these methods have been resisted by the political organization partly from inertia, but largely because the improved methods would interfere with patronage. Copying deeds by photography rather than by handwriting or by typewriting would lose jobs; good civil service administration would make it difficult to reward the "faithful" at public expense; classification of positions and standardization of pay would limit opportunities for giving special pay-roll recognition to the man who delivers votes on election day; better systems of controlling expenditures would interfere with easy profits for political friends; and so on *ad infinitum*. Quite naturally the political organization has resisted, and continues to resist, these measures in the interests of economy and efficiency.

Do Business Men Want Good Government?

The question now arises: Does the shift of power from the political organization to the financial group make it easier to introduce improved methods in city government? Obviously that depends on whether the financial group

[Editor's Note: This is the second half of the article begun in last month's issue on the replacement of the political boss by financial dictators in American cities. Last month's article presented the facts of the situation; this month the author considers the implications of this shift in power.]

wants such methods introduced. In recent years there has been considerable discussion whether business men want good government. It has been contended with much show of force that, as a group, business men do not want good government, at least not efficient government. In truth, when one considers the extent to which business men have bought favors from politicians and men in public office, one may even doubt that all business men want honest government. It does seem that, if the business men of the country really wanted honest, efficient, and economical government, they could get it in very short order. The fact is that many business men prefer to have government weak, inefficient, and even dishonest; that most of them are, or at least until recently have been, indifferent to government; and that only a minority of them, though at present a rapidly growing minority, appreciate the importance of good government and actually give of their thought, time, and means to get good government. It is therefore not to be assumed offhand that bankers, because they are business men, will use their new power in city government to make it better.

Neither is it to be taken as a matter of course that bankers will be motivated by higher ideals than political bosses. It is a great mistake to assume that any particular group has a monopoly of all virtue or is the repository of all vice. The honors are likely to be pretty evenly divided among all groups. That politicians and political bosses have at times been most brazen in their disregard of the public interests has been known and proclaimed from the housetops for generations. The spotlight of publicity plays less relentlessly upon the conduct of business men. Yet who will say, after the recent disclosures of the misdeeds of some of the leading bankers of the country, that business men, particularly bankers, rank above the average in probity and public spirit? The business world as well as the political world has still much housecleaning to do. Both have had men in places of leadership who have been found wanting. In both, the struggle for higher standards of conduct has still far to go.

Bankers for Economy

There is, however, good reason to expect the financier to make common cause with those who are striving for more efficient and more economical government. Bankers now have a special stake in economical government. Just as the fire insurance companies find it to their interests to promote efficient fire departments in cities, and as life insurance companies find it good business policy to support public health work, so bankers at this time must find it to their advantage to aid measures that make for governmental economy. If city governments do not economize, the bankers and their clients may lose the money they have loaned to cities. As we have seen from the experience of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Detroit, the first concern of bankers in their career of intervention has been to secure a reduction of municipal expenditures.

Now, it is true that reduction of expenditures may not mean more economical and more efficient government; it may simply mean less governmental service, or at best only a temporary lowering of the cost of that service. A horizontal reduction of salaries, for example, achieves no constructive economy; it merely relieves the taxpayer temporarily. On the other hand, the introduction of a more equitable plan of compensation for city employees is a constructive economy because it improves morale and thus contributes permanently toward more efficient city service. Hence, if the bankers' drive for reduced municipal expenditures is to promote the cause of real economy and

efficiency in city government, it must go beyond a mere insistence upon the spending of fewer dollars.

How the Bankers Function

It is only natural that bankers should shrink from the task of telling city officials not only how much they should reduce their expenditures, but also how those reductions should be made. They are in the banking business, not in the business of running a city government. For the latter task they are apt to be as poorly equipped as the city officials are for managing a bank. At the outset of their intervention in the city's affairs they accordingly abstain from suggesting specific ways and means of cutting budgets. That has been their policy in Philadelphia. In New York, Chicago, and Detroit they have gone further, though even in those cities they have been disposed to leave wide discretion to the city authorities. For example, in Chicago, where the Committee on Public Expenditures has assumed so much responsibility, the financial group has left each of the various governmental units free to work out its own way of living within a general spending limit suggested by the Committee.

Where bankers do go beyond suggesting general spending limits, it is obviously necessary for them to call others to their aid who are better informed on city affairs than they are themselves. The individuals and groups to whom they may logically turn are those who are already conversant with the city's practices and problems. In turning to them, moreover, they forthwith ally themselves with persons who have been working for years for constructive measures to achieve greater economy and efficiency in municipal business.

In effect this is exactly what the bankers have done. First they have caused citizens' committees to come into being. These committees have been made widely representative of the business and civic interests of the community. Then these committees have engaged men experienced in municipal affairs and through them elicited the cooperation of civic organizations. Thus the Stone Committee in Detroit selected two governmental research men for its secretariat, Upson and Rightor; and the Sargent Committee of Chicago named John O. Rees, also a governmental research man, as its director. Both of these committees have called upon existing civic agencies for information and advice. In New York the bankers have been guided by the Citizens' Budget Commission which has on its staff men who are experienced in governmental research. In this way the bankers have come into possession of such constructive ideas as specialists in government have been able to contribute.

One cannot observe the experience in Detroit and Chicago without concluding that, while much ruthless slashing of expenditures has been done, new impetus also has been given to constructive reforms. The report of the Committee on City Finances in Detroit records an imposing list of suggestions actually adopted by the city that are essentially constructive, and not merely palliatives. In Chicago the Committee on Public Expenditures is making an attack on what is perhaps the city's biggest problem, decentralization of governmental authority. If the Committee succeeds in carrying through its program of centralized financial control in Cook County it will have achieved a constructive reform of the first magnitude.

Dangers in Financial Dictation

To those to whom good government means simply economy and efficiency, the shift of power from the political boss to the financier should be altogether welcome. Not all who want good government, however, would subscribe to so narrow a definition of the

term. Many would lay quite as much stress on service and on democracy as on economy and efficiency. To these the shift of power may be less welcome; it may even seem to them sinister. Certainly the financier's interest is not primarily in the service side of government. As an individual citizen he may have the point of view of the beneficiary of governmental service, but as a banker he must have the point of view of the money lender and the investor. Quite naturally he will be concerned first of all with the security of his loans to cities and with the maintenance of debt service. Non-revenue producing activities will appeal to him as of secondary importance, and may even strike him as frills. He is apt to be an easy prey to the nation-wide propaganda which falsely pictures governments as mere burdens on the backs of the producers of wealth, as though governments were not themselves wealth-producing enterprises of a high order. In this respect the political boss is likely to have a broader view than the financier. To remain in power he must please not only those who have money in municipal securities, but also the much larger body of citizens who are not investors but who are benefited by governmental services.

Those who place democracy first will also look askance at this shift of power. The political boss, heaven knows, is no democrat; but at least he must wield his power under a system that gives the people a chance on occasion to dislodge him. Periodically he must expose his candidates to the voters, and if he carries on in too high-handed a manner, his candidates may be defeated. The financier is under no such necessity. He does not run for office, nor does he place a ticket in the field with his label upon it so that the voters can defeat him at the polls. He wields his power by virtue of his control of credit, not by any mandate from the electors.

Financial Dictation Temporary

These considerations are so important that we might well regard the arrival of the financier on the municipal stage as a menace, if there were any prospect of his remaining long in control. In the writer's opinion, however, his control will be temporary. Cities are now at the mercy of bankers because the depression has brought them into grave financial difficulties. As soon as the depression is over, tax collections doubtless will return to normal and cities will cease to be so dependent on the banks as they are now. The banks themselves will then feel more secure and will be less inclined to enforce hard terms on cities. It is even probable that cities will be less dependent on banks than they were before the depression began. The present experience is forcing a reëxamination of the tax collection procedure of cities and is stimulating efforts to revise that procedure in such a way as to bring tax revenues more promptly into the city treasury.

Effect on Political Boss

It would be a consummation devoutly to be wished if cities came out of this depression, not only with greater freedom from the financier, but also with less domination by the political boss. That is perhaps too much to expect. One does not see the bankers making any frontal attacks on the political organization. The political boss is not being dethroned. In fact, he is being accorded a degree of recognition that must be somewhat flattering to him. If it is true, as reported, that the New York bankers dealt directly with Tammany last fall, they not only acted as realists, but also paid a neat compliment to the leaders of that organization. Equals were talking directly to equals. In Chicago it happened that the political boss was also the mayor. The bankers and their repre-

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City Managers and German Burgomasters—A Comparison

Successful German administrators operate on professional basis similar to that of managers in United States

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WHY attempt to compare municipal executive systems with as widely different backgrounds and present problems as those of the city manager and the burgomaster? One reason is that, although the city manager idea comes chiefly from the analogy of the American business corporation, it did partially develop from a study of municipal government abroad, especially in Germany. A second reason is that the almost uniformly high standards and valuable results attained by German city officials are still arousing considerable interest in this country. Of course one must be careful not to make the comparison on the assumption that all which is good in German municipalities could be obtained by developing the city manager into a burgomaster. Such an attitude would disregard the historical independence of German cities and the bureaucratic tradition and less emphasis on private rights in Germany; all of which factors combine to give the German municipal executive a much easier job than that shouldered by our overworked city officials. With this qualification, it still remains true that city problems are much the same the world over and that there is much to be learned from seeing how others do it.

SELECTING THE EXECUTIVE

Three striking similarities exist in the methods of recruitment of municipal executives in America and Germany. First, selection of the city manager by the council has its counterpart in selection of the burgomasters by the council in most large German cities. A council can go over credentials and recommendations and conduct interviews of possible executives in a way obviously closed to the electorate. In one sense of the word "democracy"—i.e., administration by all the citizens—, choice by the council is a denial of popular control. But experience with the highly complicated administrative problems arising in contemporary industrial society has shown that the true sense of democracy is of a people equipped to handle problems—equipped with the ablest leaders it can secure.

Second of the striking similarities is the requirement of professional standards and professional education for the larger number of burgomasters and managers. Curiously enough, the professions are different and neither is exactly suitable as training for municipal executives. Running a large city is a job calling for the tact, directive skill, financial acumen, and energy needful in a first-class business man, combined with a broad social philosophy not ordinarily characteristic of the business man. Yet, instead of training in business and sociology, we find that Germany brings up her city executives largely with a legal training and that a great number of city managers are engineers. It is hardly necessary to allude to the faults of both

types of education; the tendency of legal training to produce a dry-as-dust bureaucratic formalism—the lack of social consciousness evident in engineering education. Yet, despite these faults, the demand for professional qualifications in both countries sets certain standards of ability and integrity which would otherwise be lacking.

A third similarity in recruitment is the absence of residence requirements. Statistics on the number of German municipal executives who come from cities other than those in which they are working are not available but we do know that more than a quarter of them come from other states and that interchange between cities is even more frequent. We also know that almost one-half of city manager appointments are outside appointments. The advantages of obtaining men free from local interests and prejudices and of creating an opportunity for promotion from city to city have often been emphasized in city manager literature.

BOTH GROUPS OF HIGH CALIBER

The net result of these similarities in recruitment can be weighed in the high caliber of managers and oberburgomasters—both far above the average of our elective mayors. A few leading oberburgomasters, such as Adickes of Frankfurt who was a leader in scientific thought on almost every subject of municipal administration as well as a leader in civic and state affairs, stand out above any city managers. Yet, after reading quantities of literature and talking to several of both groups, the writer is inclined to believe that city managers as a group can hold their own, with oberburgomasters. What differences there are may be partly explained by two dissimilarities in recruiting methods.

First is the attractive security of the oberburgomaster's office. Six to twelve-year terms, chances of reëlection, and pensions make it a much surer berth than the city manager's. Better men can be obtained and it is probable that the fact of committing the city to one man for twelve years makes the city council extremely careful in its selections. However, discussion of such long terms for American officials will be purely academic until the tradition of simple democracy has been replaced by the tradition of efficient democracy in the American mind. In the meantime, experiments with city managerships for two or four-year terms would be highly interesting.

A more important dissimilarity is that the oberburgomaster system has a top and bottom to it while the city manager system is, in contrast, floating in the air. In Germany regular channels of vocational administrative activity leading up to burgomasterships make it possible to attract real brains into the city civil service and it does not become necessary to go out into the general professions or business world to find men who, however able they may be, are not accustomed to view city problems with the social outlook characteristic of the trained public servant. On the top is a possibility of promotion to larger cities and to state or national ministries. Such possibilities may encourage the oberburgomaster to play a mild amount of politics but they also encourage a broader social outlook than the business executive posts to which city managers are often drawn.

GENERAL ACTIVITIES

In the field of activities we find again marked likenesses between these two great professional city executive systems. The executive is becoming a tactful community leader in both cases, a man who decides on questions of policy but avoids questions of politics so far as possible. The stronger city managers seem agreed that a manager may hold

pronounced views as to city policies and advocate these views even before a partly hostile council, but that a manager who, like Hopkins in Cleveland, indulges in public debates or deals with political factions is "getting into politics" too much. Similarly, the best German burgomasters present definite policies and plan great developments but do not indulge in protracted public squabbles. A tendency towards partisan burgomasters noticeable after the War has not proved to be of permanent importance. They generally belong to some politically ineffectual, middle-of-the-road, party like the democratic or "Staatspartei" and try to have most of the major parties represented in their administration. The solution seems happy in both systems.

The question of social activities is also similarly handled. A man who is worth his salt is neither going to throw away his energies on a round of banquets nor is he going to play hermit. City managers have found themselves forced into speech-making until the theory of the mayor who is to handle all "ceremonial" duties has been pretty well riddled by the buckshot of experience. But the average manager tries to keep that fraction of his time limited. Likewise, in most German cities, the report was that the chief burgomaster spent one-seventh or even less of his working time on ceremonial and speech-making matters.

RELATIONS TO COUNCIL AND ADMINISTRATION

When we turn to specific governmental relationships, we leave behind us the possibility of blanket comparison of German municipal executives and our city managers. For there are at least four main types and many more subtypes of German city government. The most frequent is the so-called "magistral constitution" of East Prussia in which the chief executive is only the presiding head of a group of executives. In independent cities like Hamburg, there is a responsible parliamentary system. In South Germany a council executive rules the roost.

Most significant is the "burgomaster constitution," now to be found chiefly in West Prussia but advocated by reformers as most suitable for municipal government throughout Germany and similar to our city manager plan.

Under the so-called "burgomaster constitution," the chief burgomaster is directive head of the entire administration, appointing all officials except department heads and even in that case advising the council. He assigns tasks to all his subordinates and appoints advisory administrative bodies, composed partly of professional officials and partly of prominent citizens to guide the policy of individual departments. He can punish or, after a trial, rid himself of undesirable subordinates. Parallels for all these powers can be found in city manager cities.

Legislative powers of the burgomaster, however, stand in sharp contrast to those of the manager. Instead of being merely a privileged attendant on council meetings, he is the presiding official and caster of the deciding ballot, able to exercise a moderating influence on council discussions and to further his own policies. This reliance on a professional official for continuance of community policy is not likely to develop in America because of its apparently undemocratic features. Yet, it is interesting to observe Socialists and other liberal groups, conscious of the need for an efficient democracy, advocating extension of the "burgomaster constitution" with this feature in Germany.

SUMMARY

In summary we again emphasize the similarities between these two systems of professional city government. Selec-

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How Negroes Vote in Chicago

Political solidarity of "Black Belt" in middle western city brings long denied power to race

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Because of the fact that the one representative in Congress of the some twelve million Negroes in the United States comes from the city of Chicago, the Negro vote in this city has become a factor of national importance. Southern white politicians and editors who wish to stir the race issue have but to mention the name of Congressman DePriest, whose repeated elections since 1918 fulfill the prophesy of George H. White, the last of the reconstruction colored congressmen, who said in 1901, "This, Mr. Chairman, is perhaps the Negroes' temporary farewell to the American Congress; but let me say, Phoenix-like, he will rise up some day and come again."[1]

The story of DePriest's election is the story of the migration of tens of thousands of Negroes from the South, the development of race consciousness among the masses, the formation of a new community in the North, the growth of a professional class, the building of a political organization and the emergence of political leaders. The agricultural depression in the South following the ravages of the boll weevil, the cutting off of immigration during the Great War, the subsequent demand for labor in the northern industrial cities, the alluring appeals broadcast by the Chicago *Defender*, a colored weekly which circulated widely in the South, the desire to escape the restrictions of the South, and the dream of an improved social and political status were among the factors which contributed to the influx of colored citizens in Chicago.

The size of the Negro vote in Chicago becomes a factor of added importance when it is considered in connection with Republican primaries rather than with general elections. While only 8.7 per cent of the total adult citizens were Negro in 1930, it is probable that one-fifth of the Republican primary voters were Negro in that year. Since there have been many bitter factional quarrels in the Republican party of Chicago, the faction which could count on a large share of the vote from the "Black Belt" was in a favored position. For the last seventeen years, practically the period of the migration, the William Hale Thompson faction of the Republican party has been in just that position.

THOMPSON AND THE NEGRO VOTE

To an outsider it might appear that the name of William Hale Thompson worked magic among the voters of the "Black Belt." In the four primary elections at which Thompson was a candidate for mayor, he received over 80 per cent of the total Republican primary vote in the second ward. In 1927 he received 94 per cent of the primary vote in this ward. While Thompson has not

[1] *Congressional Record*, 56th Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 34, part 2, p. 1638.

been as successful in securing Negro votes for his associates as for himself, nevertheless his choice for governor, Len Small, received over three-quarters of the vote in the second ward in the four primaries at which he presented himself, and Thompson's favorites for United States senator at six different primaries received over 60 per cent of the Republican vote cast. Some of the minor candidates on Thompson's primary slates have been less fortunate, but in general it appears that "Big Bill" Thompson's recommendations have been factors to be reckoned with in the "Black Belt" on primary day.

What has been the secret of Thompson's popularity among the Negro voters? This is a complex question which does not have a single answer. Thompson's showmanship, bombastic style of oratory, ready platform wit, geniality, and practical ethics appealed to many Negroes as well as to many whites. Thompson talked the language of the street in slow, measured tones and there was no mistaking his meaning. This does not explain the overwhelming character of his popularity. As far back as 1900 when he was a candidate for alderman of the second ward he began to cultivate the Negro vote. He has put this episode in his own picturesque language:

> This meeting tonight takes me back a number of years when I was a candidate for alderman. I was a poor struggling youngster. A minister helped me a lot in that campaign. That minister was a poor struggling youngster, also, just starting his chosen career. We fought together, this minister and I. The minister was Archibald Carey.[2]
>
> When I got the ordinance for the first kiddies' playground, Bishop Carey got me to put it across the street from his church at 24th and Wabash. I got the ordinance. Thompson was responsible for that and the Negroes got the playground and Bishop Carey was responsible for that. In other words, the first municipal playground for kiddies in the world, and which started a world movement, was built where the Negroes had the most show. White people from near-by came over and said they wanted it in their neighborhood. I said to this, "I see you have fine houses and yards with fences around them and nice dogs but no children. I'll build a playground for children and not poodle dogs."[3]

In one sense it might be said that Thompson's success with the Negro voters has been the result of a lucky combination of circumstances. Charles S. Deneen, Republican governor of the state from 1905 to 1913, went down to defeat for reëlection in 1912 because of the split in the ranks of the Republican party caused by the Progressive movement. If he had been governor of the state in 1915, it is possible that Harry Olson, his preference for the Republican nomination for mayor, would not have been defeated by Thompson.

The fact remains that Thompson carried the second ward in 1915 by 6,763 votes over Olson and that this margin was only reduced by one-half in the rest of the city.[4] Thompson had strong organization support in that his close friend, George F. Harding, wealthy real estate operator, was voluntarily retiring from the position of alderman of the second ward and that Martin B. Madden, another friend, was well entrenched in the first congressional district.

Among the Negroes themselves Thompson had some powerful friends who helped to construct myths about his personality. Bishop Carey of the African Methodist Episcopal Church was known as a very able orator. One of his speeches for Thompson was reported as follows:

[2]Political meeting, April 7, 1932.

[3]Political meeting, March 25, 1931.

[4]City vote, Olson, 84,825; Hey, 4,283; Thompson, 87,333; second ward vote, Olson, 1,870; Hey, 47; Thompson, 8,633.

> Whatever Mayor Thompson has done, whatever he will do, he will do not out of sympathy for the descendants of a race once enslaved, but for American citizens who have earned their position. By these appointments Mayor Thompson is merely recognizing the worth of a people.
>
> There are three names which will stand high in American history—Abraham Lincoln, William McKinley and William Hale Thompson. (Cheers interrupted the speaker.)
>
> William Hale Thompson may not be elected president in 1916, but I'm sure he will be in 1920. I helped elect him alderman; I helped elect him county commissioner, I helped elect him mayor, and my work will not be completed until I have helped elect him president. (Further cheering.)[5]

Once elected mayor, Thompson might have made some mistakes which would have alienated the Negro voters but in race matters he had good advisers and his own intuition stood him in good stead. His appointments, his speeches and his actions cemented the Negro voters closer and closer to his faction of the Republican party. So many Negroes were appointed to conspicuous municipal offices that one of his Republican factional opponents called the city hall "Uncle Tom's Cabin," a charge that Thompson did not fail to repeat when campaigning in the "Black Belt."

The lasting character of Thompson's personal popularity among the Negro voters is shown by the fact that in the mayoralty election of 1931 he polled over 83 per cent of the total vote cast in areas with a population 75 per cent or more Negro. After sixteen years of pitiless publicity during which a race riot had occurred, Negro dwellings and business houses had been bombed, colored ministers had denounced his regime as injurious to the best interests of the race, and some of the colored weeklies had at times turned against him, Thompson emerged triumphant in the "Black Belt" in an election at which he went down to defeat in the city at large.

Voting for Thompson and his white friends brought tangible results to the Negroes in Chicago in the form of jobs, immunities and concessions, but these rewards were not entirely satisfying. The members of a minority group in a democracy like to have representatives of their own group in elective office. These elective officers can be more independent and it is thought that they will have the interests of the group more at heart. On a strictly proportional basis, the size of the vote should entitle the group to four of the fifty aldermen, five of the fifty-seven state representatives, one of the ten Cook County commissioners elected from Chicago, and one of the ten congressmen. In Chicago as elsewhere the defects of the systems of representation, a lack of perfect group cohesion, and the criss-crossing of economic, social, religious, and personal currents prevent voting from following race lines strictly. The Negro group is definitely a minority group and if the whites always followed a color line in voting no black man could hope to win a city-wide elective office. It is also conceivable that if the vote of the group were widely scattered it might be ineffective even in the smaller voting areas of the city. The numbers were there but the representatives and the political power would not follow without a struggle. That this was recognized by the Negro leaders is shown by the following statement made by E. H. Wright, one of the foremost political organizers of the group:

> It is unfortunate that the white man's unreasoning prejudice (no matter to what party he belongs) makes it almost a necessity that the Negro should have a preponderance of the vote in a certain territory or have at least the balance of power between the parties before he is given any political recognition. This has

[5] *Defender*, September 18, 1915.

a tendency to compel the Negroes to draw racial lines as a matter of self-protection. This is all wrong on both sides.[6]

SUCCESS IN THE LEGISLATURE

As in other cities of the North the first successful battle for representation was in the state legislature. The system of cumulative voting used for the election of the Illinois House since 1870 was adapted to their purposes since a group which could muster at least one-third of the votes in a senatorial district could be sure of one representative. In every district each voter had three votes which could be concentrated on a single candidate or split between two or three candidates. The concentration of the Negro vote in three contiguous senatorial districts on the South Side of Chicago is shown in Table I.

Table I. Negro Population in Selected Senatorial Districts in Chicago, 1920 and 1930*

Senatorial District	1920 All classes	1920 Negro	1920 Per cent	1930 All classes	1930 Negro	1930 Per cent
1	62,328	22,521	36.1	44,306	19,776	44.9
3	107,998	41,468	38.4	101,234	55,782	55.1
5	183,883	17,992	9.8	214,765	98,440	45.8
Total for districts	354,209	81,981		360,035	173,998	

**Census Data of Chicago,* 1920 and 1930.

As far back as 1876 when the colored people comprised only 1 per cent of the total population of the city a representative of their race was sent to the capital at Springfield from Chicago.[7] After 1883 they have never been without a representative although for twenty-two years they were unable to send more than one at a time. In 1914, when their numbers were just beginning to increase rapidly, two state representatives were elected, one from the first district, which had contained most of them in the earlier days, and one from the third district, which was in the heart of the new Negro community. The delegation was increased to three in 1918 and Table I shows one of the reasons why this additional representative came from the third district.

The story of the election of the additional representative in 1918 illustrates how factional alignments may be used to the advantage of a minority group. The successful candidate ran on a primary ticket sponsored by former Governor Deneen against a white and a colored candidate on the Thompson ticket. The cumulative system enabled the Deneen group among the colored voters to concentrate on their candidate who also secured many white votes because of favorable newspaper publicity. The white candidate was eliminated by these tactics.

In 1924 the colored voters of the first district caught up with their neighbors and returned two representatives. In this same year the voters of the third district elected the first colored state senator. The retiring senator, one of the important figures in the Thompson faction, voluntarily resigned his office before the expiration of his term. Assuming a uniform rate of growth of the Negro population in the fifth district between 1920 and 1930, it is clear that the election of a colored representative in this district was possible in 1928. That it actually happened although the white candidate had been a representative for twelve years was the result of the organizing ability of the colored leaders.[8]

In the legislative districts where a

[6]Chicago *Daily News*, Sept. 26, 1919.

[7]Information obtained from *Illinois Blue Book* and interviews.

[8]In two wards the colored candidate received over 60 per cent of the vote in the precincts inhabited by 75 per cent or more Negroes.

minority system of representation was in effect and where there was a racial concentration of population, voting tended to follow racial lines. Sometimes the white representative withdrew from the Republican primary and left the field clear for the colored candidates. At other times, the white candidates were defeated in straight fights in spite of organization backing. The turnover of the individual representatives has been fairly high but the race representation quite constant.

THE CITY COUNCIL

Much more highly prized than a seat in the state legislature is a seat in the city council because it carries a higher salary and more patronage. Before 1921 the city council was composed of seventy aldermen, two selected from each of the thirty-five wards. Prior to the migration the colored voters struggled in vain to secure an alderman of their race. When they sent their first representative to the council in 1915 it is likely that they were in a majority in the second ward.[9] When the draft in 1918 showed that seven or eight out of every ten in the second ward were Negroes, pressure was brought to bear upon the Republican organization to put up a second colored candidate. According to Table II the Negro voters might have elected a third alderman of their own in 1929 or 1931 had they chosen to do so. However, the incumbent was close to the Thompson faction and he was left in his seat. When the ward lines were re-drawn in 1931, the Negro majority in this ward was reduced to a minority.

CONGRESS

Because of its national importance a seat in Congress was coveted by the Negroes in Chicago many years before one was available. National and local pressure was brought to bear many times to reëlect Martin B. Madden from the congressional district containing the largest colored vote. When Madden died after the primary of 1928 the nomination of his successor was in the hands of a party committee favorable to the Thompson faction. Mayor Thompson said of the occasion, "When Madden died there came some Judas from Washington and said to me, 'We don't want a Negro congressman. You're the man that can keep a Negro out of Congress.' I said, 'If I'm the one man who can keep a Negro out of Congress, then, by God, there'll be one there.' "[10]

The political victories of the Negroes in Chicago have not been achieved without paying a price. They have not escaped some of the unfavorable publicity associated with the Thompson regime and their increased political power has awakened white opposition. When their voting power was much less than at present, it was easier for a colored man to be elected to a city-wide position. Since 1908 no Negro has been elected to the county board and since 1924 no

Table II. Negro Population in Selected Wards in Chicago, 1920 and 1930* (1921 ward lines)

Ward	1920 All classes	1920 Negro	1920 Per cent	1930 All classes	1930 Negro	1930 Per cent
2	55,468	39,741	71.6	47,027	40,735	86.6
3	57,927	26,062	45.0	69,255	55,306	79.9
4	61,273	8,345	13.6	70,077	41,221	58.8

**Census Data of Chicago,* 1920 and 1930 with minor estimates.

[9]The second ward under the 1901 lines was 27 per cent colored in 1910 and under the 1911 ward lines it was 70 per cent colored in 1920.

[10]Political meeting, March 20, 1932. In 1920, 44.7 per cent of the adult citizens in the district were Negro; in 1930, 58.0 per cent.

colored aspirant for the municipal bench has been successful. No representative of the group has ever been elected to one of the chief patronage positions of the city.

The attitude of the white voters toward colored candidates has helped foster the solidarity of the colored vote. This group cohesion has been strengthened by the local political organizations, the churches, the weekly newspapers, and other group institutions. The Negro vote has become a greatly prized asset in Republican primaries. Its power has made possible a number of electoral victories and it has meant important recognition in appointive positions. While the vote has been highly united, the local leadership has often been divided. The 1932 primaries brought a consolidation of power in the hands of Congressman DePriest who now controls the second and third ward organizations. With this new unity of command the Negro voters in Chicago may achieve further successes.

CITY MANAGERS AND GERMAN BURGOMASTERS

(Continued from Page 237)

tion by the council, professional standards, and absence of residence requirements combine to make securing of able men the outstanding feature of both systems. To have views on matters of policy but to avoid indulgence in politics, to come out of the city hall enough but not too often, and to control a centralized administration are accepted facts of the professional executive's job.

Most of the differences are explained by the varying viewpoints of Germans and Americans on what "democracy" means. Where that chasm is great the systems are not likely to approach one another. Where it is narrowed, we may learn several things from the Germans. One is to encourage municipal service as a life career for men of ability and to obtain a social viewpoint by building a hierarchy of jobs under the city manager. Another is to abandon the pretence that the mayor is to be sole leader of the city and its social representative and to recognize the true importance of the manager's job. Given these changes it is quite likely that American initiative and energy, free of the slow-moving legalism of German municipal executives, may be able to advance faster and to transform our cities into centers of good living and culture and beauty.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

EDITED BY GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

Continuing the Proportional Representation Review

Pittsburgh Gains a "Moral Victory."—On April 12 Representative John J. Kane, Pittsburgh Democrat, moved to discharge the House Committee on Elections of further consideration of his bill to make the city manager plan with proportional representation optional for Pittsburgh. In recent Pennsylvania history the sanctity of committees has been violated by a successful discharge motion only once and it was known in advance that many sincere believers in municipal home rule would vote against such a motion rather than risk the displeasure of organization leaders by upsetting this precedent, but since the bill was securely "pickled" in a sub-committee controlled by its arch-antagonist Senator Coyne this was the only possible way to give expression to the insistent popular demand for the bill's passage.

Though the motion was defeated (by the creditable vote of 73 to 105), the strength of the popular demand was unmistakably registered by a 15 to 10 vote in its favor in Allegheny County, composed of Pittsburgh and its suburbs. Eight Allegheny Republicans, a full half of the county's Republican members who voted, broke away from the Coyne leadership to vote for the motion, and the two who were absent allowed themselves to be quoted as in favor of the bill. Seven of the nine county Democrats voted for the discharge and were supported by nearly the entire Democratic membership of the House. Two years ago, when the Coyne forces failed to keep a similar measure in committee but did defeat it by a close vote on final passage, only seven Allegheny members in all voted for it.

The day before the vote on the Kane bill the Senate Committee on Elections had voted not to report out the similar Harris bill, though in the Senate too at least half of the Allegheny delegation were known to favor it.

The votes on the Harris and Kane bills were preceded by a monster mass meeting in Pittsburgh and by a hearing in Harrisburg on these and important election reform bills which was attended by a special train-load of Pittsburgh citizens who made the trip at their own expense.

Blocked for the present session, the Municipal Charter Committee of Pittsburgh and its many supporting organizations are planning definitely to make the flouting of the people's will on this much-needed home rule measure an issue in this year's and next year's elections.

The Philadelphia optional P. R. manager bill introduced by Senator Woodward died in the Senate Committee on Municipal Affairs. That bill also had strong popular support for the third successive session, but the Philadelphia organization again opposed it successfully.

At this writing the legislature is still in session and the fate of the similar measures for third-class cities and boroughs is not finally decided.

*

New York Legislature Fails to Aid Charter Revision.—The New York legislature adjourned April 10 without doing anything to give effect to the demands of the Hofstadter Legislative Investigating Committee, its counsel Judge Seabury, and numerous civic organizations for a new proportional representation charter for New York City.

In the final days of the legislature, however, a real battle was waged to enact the

proposal of Senator Desmond and Assemblyman Moffat allowing 15 per cent of the voters of any city by petition to call an election on the setting up of a charter commission named in the petition. This measure was strongly urged by Governor Lehman in a special message to the legislature but because of Tammany opposition was rejected in the Senate, which twice defeated motions to discharge the Senate Cities Committee, on a straight party vote, 26 to 25. The measure had previously passed the Assembly 76 to 66 on reconsideration after falling short of the constitutional majority required on the first attempt.

The Desmond bill for the optional charter contained in the Seabury report and the Moffat bill for an optional charter based on the majority report of the Hofstadter committee were both killed by Tammany opposition, the former never getting out of committee. The Moffat bill was reported favorably by the Assembly's Cities Committee and was advanced to the order of final passage. However, since this bill, as well as the Desmond bill, required a special message from the Governor which was not forthcoming, it was not brought to a final vote.

The demand of New York citizens for a new charter was ably expressed at a crowded hearing in Albany on March 22, at which Judge Seabury and representatives of the Advisory Committee of the New York County Republican Committee, the state Socialist Party, the Merchants' Association, the Citizens Union, the City Affairs Committee, the City Club, the Women's City Club, the New York League of Women Voters, the City Party, the Committee of One Thousand, and the Jamaica Chamber of Commerce spoke in favor of charter revision with special reference to proportional representation.

The Tammany opposition in the legislature contended that action at Albany was unnecessary because Mayor O'Brien is pushing local legislation under the home rule law for a charter revision by a commission appointed by the mayor! The question of authorizing such a commission will possibly be voted on at the municipal election next fall.

Among the forces resolved to keep charter revision to the fore is the newly-formed City Party, which aims to unite "honest men and women of all parties" "to obtain for the city of New York a government for all its people and not for any political party and its favored friends." The party has declared for P. R.

One of the ablest statements so far issued in support of the Seabury recommendation of a single-chamber council elected by proportional representation is the report of the Special Committee on Reorganization of City Government of the Merchants' Association of New York, signed by William Fellowes Morgan as the committee's chairman.

Other organizations which have recently come out for proportional representation, in addition to those represented at the hearing, are the Kings County Republican Committee and the State Affairs Committee of the National Republican Club.

A Reply To Alfred E. Smith

Part of a letter sent to the "New Outlook" on February 13 by the Chairman of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee in reply to Mr. Smith's much discussed editorial attack on proportional representation as recommended by Judge Seabury for New York City. The letter was not published.

The Editor, New Outlook

Dear Sir:

In your February number you carried an editorial on proportional representation and based part of your argument against the use of the system in New York on the difficulty of explaining a paragraph quoted from the charter of the city of Cincinnati governing the method of selecting surplus ballots for transfer. If your opposition to the charter proposed by Judge Seabury were based solely on the difficulty of explaining this particular paragraph, I would confine this communication merely to advising you of the fact that you should know, had you read the Seabury recommendations, that this particular method used in Cincinnati for selecting the surplus ballots for transfer is not used in the proposed New York charter. However, the editorial contains so many other errors concerning proportional representation that knowing the fairness of the *Outlook* I am craving the privilege of a little space to present the other side.

In explaining my interest let me say that

I was the chairman of the commission which drafted the present charter of the city of Cincinnati in 1926. My associates on the commission were Senator Robert A. Taft, son of President William Howard Taft, and Mr. Robert N. Gorman, at a later date prosecuting attorney of Hamilton County, Ohio. The secretary of the commission was Mr. Howard Bevis, the present able finance director of the state of Ohio. The drafting of the charter was not a partisan act. Mr. Robert A. Taft and I were Republicans in national politics. Mr. Robert N. Gorman and Mr. Howard Bevis were Democrats in national politics. All of us except Mr. Robert A. Taft were members of the City Charter Party in local politics. All four of us were experienced lawyers and I believe that your editorial is the first criticism of our clearness of expression. . .

NOT A DIFFICULT SYSTEM

Let me assure you that it is not difficult to explain this system to the rank and file of voters. In Cincinnati this system of proportional representation was explained to the rank and file of the voters and it carried in a special election in the face of the opposition of a political machine much more deeply entrenched in power than Tammany has ever been. . . . The rank and file of the Republican party repudiated the advice of the party leaders and adopted the system of proportional representation, not to destroy party government, but actually to establish it upon an honest basis. The election was not even close. The charter secured a majority in every one of the twenty-six wards in the city of Cincinnati. . . .

THE VOTING MACHINE OBJECTION

It is true that the present voting machines could not be used and that without machines it will take more time to count the ballots. However, voting machines to register a count of votes under proportional representation can easily be manufactured, once there is a demand for them, and the system of popular elections was in full force and effect long before voting machines were considered. Voting is supposed to represent an act of human intelligence and to postpone the adoption of a system of voting because of the absence of voting machines would seem to indicate a negation of the idea of intelligence. If the result of using proportional representation is to elect better office holders for the next four years it would seem the part of wisdom not to sacrifice this result because of a delay of a few days in determining the result. . . .

As to the "innumerable candidates running on all sorts of crazy platforms and impossible promises," the difficulty is more imaginary than real. . . . At the first election in Cincinnati we had a number of candidates such as you suggest. However, most of them received fewer votes than the number of signatures to their nominating petitions and ever since the first election there has been no trouble of this kind. . . .

RESPONSIBLE PARTY GOVERNMENT

The claim "it would do away with responsible party government and would destroy all district representation, which is, I believe, still essential in a community with strong neighborhood and racial feelings," contains three distinct and two contradictory conclusions in one sentence. Let us consider them separately. How will it destroy responsible party government? In Cincinnati there has been established under proportional representation more responsible party government than was ever dreamed of under the old system.[1] However, it has been responsible party government and not irresponsible party domination. If by party responsibility is meant the irresponsibility of the elected officials and an acceptance by them of the dictation of the unelected party machine in all details of government, I will concede your contention, but if by party responsibility is meant the responsibility of the party in selecting and vouching for the integrity and ability of the elected official, then our experience in Cincinnati has demonstrated that the way to secure real party responsibility is by the use of proportional representation.

Under proportional representation the invisible government is made visible. The members of the party use their votes in the general election to select out of the party nominees the candidates they prefer. The general election is also the primary election. Proportional representation has the same stimulating effect upon interest in party politics as would the passage of a law compelling every voter to vote in the primary election of one or the other party. Under proportional rep-

[1]The City Charter Committee, which has carried the four Cincinnati municipal elections since the adoption of proportional representation, is in effect a party for municipal purposes though it cuts across national party lines.—Ed.

resentation you cannot vote in the general election without by your vote registering your primary choice. The weakness of party government in a great municipality is the strength of the party machine and the strength of the party machine is proportioned to the lack of interest and participation in the party primaries.

As to district representation satisfying both neighborhood and racial feelings, a little consideration of the meaning of the terms will prove the contradictory nature of the assertion. If either neighborhood or racial feeling is strong, representation is guaranteed by proportional representation. The quota of required votes takes the place of a gerrymandered geographical district. Each councilman represents a quota of like-minded citizens. All like-minded citizens do not dwell in the same geographical area. A much better district representation is secured by segregating the like-minded voters through proportional representation than by segregating them through a gerrymander. Furthermore, if any racial group wants a racial representative it can pick its representative within the party as it does under the present system and the racial representative picked by 50,000 voters is much more likely to be truly representative of the racial group than a standard-bearer of racial prejudice selected by a district leader. . .

THE PART OF P. R. IN CINCINNATI

As to your statement "Proportional representation did not rid Cincinnati of bad government. The citizens did this by their votes," I agree, but as to the second portion of your statement "If there had been no proportional representation the fusion or reform element would have captured every elective office in the city government instead of only part of these offices," I must decidedly disagree. I believe I speak with authority as I have been president of the City Charter Committee since its organization and have been chairman of the campaign committee in 1925, '27, '29, and '31. If it had not been for proportional representation the fusion movement might have captured every elective office in the city government *once*,[2] but it would have lost every office at the next election. A fusion movement not based on proportional representation carries within itself the germ of its own destruction. . . .

Under proportional representation the voters themselves have selected their representatives in the fusion council. They can defeat the ones that refuse to work in harmony for the general good. The disputes, which in the ordinary fusion movement wreck the cause in secret, under proportional representation are transferred into the open. The voters see and can appraise the blame and punish or reward at the next election. It is not necessary for each office holder to bear the responsibility for the mistakes or misfeasances of other office holders on the fusion ticket. It is not possible for the opposition to rouse antagonism on different grounds in different quarters of the city. Under proportional representation you cannot vote against an entire ticket, you can only vote for a candidate.

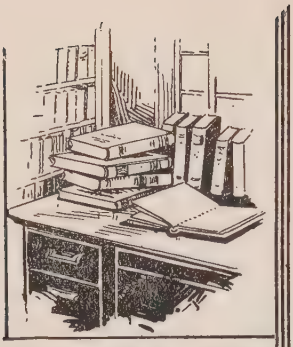
REAL VERSUS SHAM DEMOCRACY

If the purpose of voting is to secure elected officials desired by the voters, the system of proportional representation is far superior to the so-called majority system now in force. It does away with the undue influence of the organized minority. . . . The system compels the voter to select his own choice. It prevents him from surrendering all choice to his so-called political leaders. It does not prevent party organization, neither does it prevent party leadership. On the contrary it encourages the rank and file to select real party leaders. Under the present so-called majority system the selection of party leaders is made by the office holders. A political machine is self-perpetuating until it becomes so rotten that an explosion occurs. The office holders have to work in the primaries to reëlect the present leadership under penalty of losing their jobs. After they have elected the party leaders in the primaries the party leaders reward them by permitting them to hold their jobs. The rank and file of the party machine are interested in jobs. The rank and file of the local party are interested in government. The so-called majority system of voting places the control in the rank and file of the party machine. The system of proportional representation places the control in the rank and file of the political party. Good government and not retention of jobs is made the primary interest. Which system more nearly approximates the ideal of democracy?

Yours truly,

HENRY BENTLEY

[2]On other occasions Mr. Bentley has said he does not believe without proportional representation the Charter Committee could have won even the first time. At that time the anti-machine elements were too badly divided by national party and other lines to unite on any one slate. Under P. R. they did not have to. They could elect different parts of the Charter Committee ticket separately.—Ed.



RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

EDITED BY EDNA TRULL

Organizations in the Field of Public Administration—a Directory. Robert M. Paige, Editor. Chicago, Public Administration Clearing House, 1933. 203 pp.

Over one hundred years ago De Tocqueville made this observation upon one of our fundamental national traits:

"The Americans of all ages, all conditions and all dispositions constantly form associations. They have not only commercial and manufacturing companies in which all take part, but associations of a thousand other kinds, religious, moral, serious, futile, restricted, enormous, or diminutive. The Americans make associations to give entertainments, to found establishments for education, to send missionaries to the antipodes, and in this manner they found hospitals, prisons, schools. . . . Wherever at the head of some new undertaking you see the government in France, or a man of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association."

When the Public Administration Clearing House was organized two years ago, it realized that its first job was to canvass the agencies whom it was to serve—at least to list the existing organizations in the field of public administration for whom, by its charter, it was to act as a clearing house. The first fruits of this survey have recently been made public in *Organizations in the Field of Public Administration—A Directory,* edited by Robert M. Paige, of the staff of the Clearing House, under the supervision of Louis Brownlow, its director.

This directory lists 466 voluntary organizations having a nation-wide scope, 1,131 state-wide associations, 65 regional ones and 82 Canadian dominion-wide or provincial ones. It excludes all organizations less than state-wide in scope; and further, it excludes on the one hand all official agencies, boards, commissions, and on the other hand, all groups whose chief relationship with government is lobbying, trying to influence the legislative branch.

As one thumbs the pages of the directory, formal statements fly by of addresses, memberships, finances, secretariats, purposes, publications. This information should be useful, but it is not dramatic in form. It is necessary to read between the lines to get from the book a picture of the place of the voluntary association in our American government. As one who has been behind the lines, I venture to offer some aid.

In the first place, there is no office on the ballot the holder of which is not eligible to membership in some association of his fellows. The governors, attorney-generals, secretaries of state, state treasurers, mayors, comptrollers, state and municipal engineers, bank and insurance superintendents, all have their conference or association. Every kind of trained appointive employee of government has his clan—economic entomologists, park executives, librarians, prison wardens, public health workers, feed control officials, state geologists, city managers, military surgeons, agricultural chemists, public works officials, police chiefs.

Many of these groups afford "an opportunity for exchange of views" but, as for instance the Governors' Conference, by their charter proscribe action, or even resolution, upon a controversial subject. Some provide their members with useful, indeed vital, technical help, by meetings, and by the publication of papers. Few are of the trade

union type, concerned with pensions, tenures, craft restrictions: this seems to surprise foreign visitors, who think of associations of civil servants chiefly as trade unions, engaged in consolidating their bureaucratic position.

But there is a rôle in our American drama for some of these associations far more important than the spread of good fellowship, which is surprisingly seldom listed on the playbill. Perhaps they are like the property man in the Chinese play: supposed to be invisible. Their function is to bring about uniform, reciprocal, or coördinated state action in fields not within federal jurisdiction because not so delegated in the federal Constitution. And when these voluntary, unofficial groups have spoken, their word is final, there is no appeal. Take, as one example, the National Convention of Insurance Commissioners, whose membership is 48 and whose budget is $3500, and which has a part-time secretary. Its Committee on Examinations "supervises examinations in which insurance departments besides those of the home state participate, and acts as a clearing house for requests on the part of commissioners for information regarding the financial standing of insurance companies." Its Committee on Security Valuations determines what are or are not "admitted assets" and at what value they shall be taken up in reports in the several states.

The only importance of these little committees is that the several state officials have practically agreed to adopt their findings, in the interest of economy of effort and expense, and of uniformity.[1]

The other great groups of associations affecting public administration are groups of laymen. Some have a special interest, and watch like hawks over the governmental departments concerned with that interest, to see that the right thing is done by their Nell. (This, of course, beyond merely lobbying to see that new governmental departments are created, or new laws adopted.) Sometimes the lay group is more like the tackle preceding the government official carrying the ball down a broken field: their job is to draw the fire, send up the trial balloon, prepare public opinion—all in a way not open to an official.

And, finally, there are the groups which are nursing some tender seedling of an idea to the point where it can be grafted as a branch of government. The International Association of Chiefs of Police through a committee devises a uniform crime report, works on it for several years, gets many city police departments to adopt it; eventually the federal Department of Justice takes over the collection and dissemination of the periodic reports. In the fields of public health, education, psychiatry, social work, this process, called in the directory "occupying the field jointly with governmental agencies," is going on all the time.

The influence of these organizations is truly immeasurable. As I have tried to show in choosing my examples, one that looks minor in terms of number of members, size of budget, or staff, may still play an important and decisive role in government and business.

This is part of the story that can be read between the lines of the directory.

CHARLES S. ASCHER.

[1]This picture is elaborated in Professor Emerson D. Fite's "Government by Co-operation" (Macmillan, 1932); and will be discussed in Professor Brooke Graves' "Uniform State Action" to be published by the University of Chicago Press.

*

Damages by Reason of Change of Grade. R. F. Witter. Los Angeles, Department of Public Works, 1932. 71 pp. mimeo.

The problems arising in connection with changing the grade of streets with resultant damages suggested the need of some knowledge as to general practice on the point. Mr. Witter, the right-of-way and land agent of Los Angeles, secured information from twenty-seven cities. The material supplied by them is compiled in this book. It is interesting and valuable and deserves a summary or analysis such as has been, unfortunately, omitted.

*

Expenditures from Ten-Year Plan Bond Funds. Kansas City, Missouri, Civic Research Institute, 1933. 31 pp. mimeo.

The administration of the much heralded ten-year plan of Kansas City has been under constant scrutiny of the Civic Research Institute. The citizens' bond advisory committee, at the suggestion of the Institute, had a special audit made of the expenditures of the bond money. On the basis of this audit the present analysis is made. Of particular interest are the data used for purposes of

comparing Kansas City expenditure, especially for rentals of various types of equipment, with similar charges in other sections of the country.

*

How to Prepare an Annual Public Works Report. Chicago, Committee on Uniform Street and Sanitation Records, 923 East 60 Street, 1933. 31 pp.

Some city governments which have never before seriously considered informing the citizenry about the services bought by taxes are turning their attention to adequate presentation of the facts. Students of administration have for some time been concerned with records adequate for analysis in the interests of efficiency. The committee, which has been dealing especially with this, has used its previously developed material as a background for suggestions on the preparation of a report for public use. Detailed instructions, illustrative charts and tables are here offered the municipal official to be of direct assistance to him in informing anyone interested as to the work and achievements of public works activities in city government.

*

Unemployment Relief in the United States and Canada. Margaret Otto. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1932. 12 pp. 20 cents.

The bibliographies issued by the Russell Sage Foundation are always of value. This issue, on a subject on which the organization has done such outstanding work, would seem to be indispensable to anyone working or reading in the field. The references are grouped under subject headings and in most cases include a few words of explanation.

*

Men's Misdemeanants Division of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia. By George E. Worthington for the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia. Philadelphia, Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation, 1933. 181 pp.

This, the twelfth report in the Philadelphia municipal court survey, is based on field investigation made in 1926 of the court which deals with disorderly boys between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one. The report describes the origin, jurisdiction and objectives of the court, the types of cases and the sources from which they come, and explains the procedure in court cases. He explains how investigation of cases is made. The probation personnel, the methods of supervision, and the results of their work are dealt with. On the basis of his survey of these factors, the author presents conclusions and recommendations for improvement. Some of these are doubtless applicable to similar courts in many cities, such as that the court try to line up to its professed purpose, that it make better use of other municipal and private agencies in social service work, that it improve its probation staff, that it investigate more carefully the cases before it, that it agitate for better institutional care for feeble-minded boys, that better record systems be installed, that the Bar Association assist in getting rid of shyster practitioners, and other matters. Mr. Worthington closes his study with a brief section on the challenge of crime prevention.

*

Financial Aspects of New York City's Pension Systems. By Paul Studenski. New York, Citizens' Budget Commission, 1933. 109 pp. mimeo.

After a brief analysis of the New York pension problem, Professor Studenski has pointed out possible reductions in costs and has given a program for equalization of benefit provisions upon the various teachers' retirement funds. He describes also six other systems and ways of reducing their costs. In summary he offers a plea for a more uniform and economic system of the pensions.

*

Unmarried Mothers in the Municipal Court of Philadelphia. By Emma O. Lundberg for the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia. Philadelphia, Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation, 1933. 177 pp.

The major work of the women's criminal division of the municipal court of Philadelphia is with unmarried mothers. This study offers a description of the procedure followed in these cases, an analysis of various important aspects of the problem, statistical and general, a consideration of the extent and possibilities of coöperation with other agencies, private and public, and a series of recommendations which would improve and develop the work of the court.

GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION NOTES

EDITED BY ROBERT M. PAIGE *Secretary-Treasurer, G. R. A.*

Governmental Research Agencies in Cities of Over 100,000.—There are at least thirty-three cities of more than 100,000 population which now support a governmental research agency. However, as there are ninety-three cities in this population group, sixty are at present without such an agency. A list of these ninety-three cities follows. The names preceded by an asterisk are those cities now supporting a governmental research agency. The question mark preceding other names indicates that we have information to the effect that in those cities steps are being taken to organize such an agency. It will be appreciated if readers will notify the secretariat (850 E. 58 Street, Chicago) if this information is incomplete or inaccurate.

*New York
*Chicago
*Philadelphia
*Detroit
*Los Angeles
*Cleveland
*St. Louis
*Baltimore
*Boston
*Pittsburgh
*San Francisco
*Milwaukee
*Buffalo, N. Y.
Washington, D. C.
*Minneapolis
*New Orleans
*Cincinnati
*Newark, N. J.
*Kansas City, Mo.
?Seattle, Wash.
*Indianapolis, Ind.
*Rochester, N. Y
?Jersey City, N. J.
Louisville, Ky.
?Portland, Ore.
Houston, Tex.
*Toledo, O.
*Columbus, O.
?Denver, Colo.
Oakland, Calif.
*St. Paul, Minn.
?Atlanta, Ga.
?Dallas, Tex.
Birmingham, Ala.
*Akron, O.
Memphis, Tenn.
*Providence, R. I.
San Antonio, Tex.
?Omaha, Neb.
?Syracuse, N. Y.
*Dayton, O.
Worcester, Mass.
Oklahoma City, Okla.
?Richmond, Va.
Youngstown, O.
Grand Rapids, Mich.
Hartford, Conn.
Fort Worth, Tex.
New Haven, Conn.
Flint, Mich.
?Nashville, Tenn.
Springfield, Mass.
San Diego, Cal.
Bridgeport, Conn.
Scranton, Pa.
*Des Moines, Iowa
Long Beach, Cal.
Tulsa, Okla.
Salt Lake City, Utah
Paterson, N. J.
?Yonkers, N. Y.
Norfolk, Va.
*Jacksonville, Fla.
Albany, N. Y.
Trenton, N. J.
Kansas City, Kans.
*Chattanooga, Tenn.
Camden, N. J.
Erie, Pa.
Spokane, Wash.
Fall River, Mass.
Fort Wayne, Ind.
Elizabeth, N. J.
Cambridge, Mass.
*New Bedford, Mass.
Reading, Pa.
?Wichita, Kans.
Miami, Fla.
Tacoma, Wash.
*Wilmington, Del.
Knoxville, Tenn.
Peoria, Ill.
*Canton, O.
South Bend, Ind.
Somerville, Mass.
El Paso, Tex.
Lynn, Mass.
Evansville, Ind.
Utica, N. Y.
*Duluth, Minn.
Tampa, Fla.
?Gary, Ind.
Lowell, Mass.

*

Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research.—Economies are expected to result from recent legislation which provides for the assessment of real estate every four years instead of every two; makes tax value coincide with assessed value (formerly it was necessary to divide every property item by four); forbids private use of publicly-owned cars; and reduces the frequency of legal publications and notices. The Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research supported these and other economy measures. The Brookings Institution is now making a survey and formulating a program for comprehensive reorganization in state and county government to present to the special session of the Iowa Assembly in August. The Des Moines Bureau will lend support to the legislative program proposed by the Brookings Institution. Total tax levies on Des Moines property for 1933 were $6,970,000, which amount was $640,000 or almost 10 per cent less than the levies of 1931. In the coming year the Bureau will

report on fire and police pensions, relief expenditures, machine preparation of tax books, and other economy measures.

The Bureau has participated actively in the formation of the Polk County Taxpayers' Association, but will continue as an independent fact-finding and investigating agency and will serve the Polk County Taxpayers' Association by furnishing it with definite information on specific economies. The Bureau and the Taxpayers' Association will join forces in putting these specific economies into effect.

*

Citizens' Research Institute of Canada.—An analysis of the cost of provincial government has disclosed that the average per capita cost of provincial government after deducting revenues received from the Dominion government was $16.86 in 1931 compared with $16.67 in 1930; $14.92 in 1929, and $10.12 in 1922. The Dominion government's expenditures were $47.11 per capita in 1931-32 compared with $43.40 in 1930-31, and $46.87 in 1921-22. In 1931-32, deficits from such enterprises as the Canadian National Railways, Canadian Government Merchant Marine, etc., operated by the government, amounted to $8.77 per capita. These are some of the facts brought out in the recent reports of the Research Institute.

*

St. Louis Bureau of Municipal Research.—H. C. Loeffler, a member of the Bureau's staff, has just completed a survey of the costs of venereal disease to St. Louis. This study, which was made under the auspices of, and published by, the Missouri Social Hygiene Association, discloses that the direct cost of treating these diseases amounts to more than two million dollars annually. This does not include any estimate of the costs of these diseases in terms of unemployment, decreased earning capacity, and shortened life. It is believed that this survey is the first of its kind undertaken in this country.

*

Taxpayers' Research League of Delaware.—Transfer of responsibility from the county to the state for construction and maintenance of roads is one of the significant recommendations of the Governor's Advisory Commission which recently submitted its report on County Government and Taxation in Delaware. This report, which was prepared by the staff of the Taxpayers' Research League of Delaware, also recommends that the state auditor be made responsible for county audits; that the personal property tax now levied only on livestock be abolished; that assessment methods be considerably improved and that separate assessments by municipalities be eliminated; and that numerous other changes be made in the structure and financial procedure of counties. It is estimated that adoption of the Committee's recommendations would reduce county taxes to approximately one-third of present rates.

*

Providence Governmental Research Bureau.—This bureau has prepared an interesting organization chart for the city government. The unusual feature of this chart is the border, composed of some sixty small pictures or sketches portraying the work of the bureaus, departments, and commissions.

*

Citizens' Advisory Finance Committee of Newark, N. J.—A classification of accounts which will be uniform for each of the five major departments, each headed by a member of the city commission, is being worked out by this organization.

*

Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research.—Reports on the following subjects are under way: (1) milk inspection and supply; (2) city finances and the refunding of debts maturing in 1933 and 1934; (3) pay-roll economies; (4) fire losses and fire prevention; (5) city, county, and school purchasing methods and prices; (6) state legislation to assist city economies; (7) trend of delinquent taxes; (8) police costs; (9) school costs; (10) city economies effected in 1932; and, (11) departmental cost comparisons with other cities, (a routine month by month procedure).

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New Appointments.—Harold A. Stone, formerly director of research for the California Taxpayers' League, has been selected as the director of the new bureau of governmental research in New Orleans. Mr. Stone will assume his new duties May 1.

Clifford W. Ham, formerly city manager of Pontiac and Gladstone, Michigan, later president of a bank in Pontiac, has been appointed acting director of the Atlantic City Survey Commission.

NOTES AND EVENTS

Detroit Defeats, Flint Adopts Ward Plan.—By a vote of 177,000 "no" to 70,000 "yes," Detroit electors, April 3, defeated a charter amendment which would have forced the city back to a ward-district plan of council representation with twenty-one aldermen elected from twenty-two wards, arranged in ten districts.

Amid present financial and political uncertainties, the Detroit Democratic Club, headed by Congressman George Sadowski, sponsored the plan to rip the charter and take the city back twenty years to the scandalous conditions when "the forty-two loose nuts," allied with the bi-partisan Vote Swappers' League, brought Detroit to its greatest depth of municipal degradation.

Since January, 1919, the city has had a modern charter with a "strong mayor," having absolute appointive authority, and a council of nine, elected at-large, each member of which gives practically full time to the city's service, with daily council sessions in committee of the whole. The threat of a return to the discredited aldermanic system was met first by the Detroit Citizens League. The campaign initiated by the League was taken to the Detroit public chiefly through the editorial and news columns of the *Detroit News* and *Detroit Free Press,* aided by a weekly paper, *Detroit Saturday Night. The Times,* owned by Hearst, kept out of the controversy. This is the third time since 1918 that the reactionary political element has failed to overturn Detroit's modern charter plan.

At the April 3 election, Flint, Mich., produced a mixed verdict. Led by the Civic League, the people gave another drubbing to the faction of political spoilsmen headed by Mayor William H. McKeighan. In the city commission of nine, Mayor McKeighan and his brother, John, are the only members left who are opposed to the Civic League group. However, at the same election, by a vote of 22,968 to 6,768, Flint amended its charter, going back to a plan of electing one commissioner from each of nine wards.

W. P. Lovett.

Detroit Citizens League.

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Coöperative Price Service Effects Substantial Savings.—In November, 1931, an innovation in monthly commodity price services was introduced by the New York State Conference of Mayors. On the last day of each month, the Conference sends to the heads of the purchasing departments of all New York State cities and first-class villages, a printed list of the sixty-five most important materials purchased. The lists are returned to the Conference by the tenth of the following month by the reporting officials, after they have entered the quantity, quality, and price paid for each of the materials purchased during the preceding month.

At the Conference office, the reports are tabulated in commodity groups, showing the name of each city buying each item, with all information reported. The completed reports are then mailed to all city and village purchasing departments, usually by the fifteenth or twentieth of the month.

Startling variations in prices paid were revealed by the first report, on materials of equal quality, but price differences have decreased in succeeding reports. Desiring to check the results obtained by the reports, the writer selected the ten most comparable commodities in the price lists and compared the prices paid in the first report with those of December, 1932.

Upon taking an average of the prices paid

for all ten commodities, it was found that in November, 1931, the highest prices averaged 74 per cent above the lowest and the average prices exceeded the lowest prices by 31 per cent. In December, 1932, the highest prices averaged 42 per cent above the lowest, while the average prices were 22 per cent above the lowest. The net differences were therefore, 32 per cent and 9 per cent in favor of December, 1932. A considerable number of purchasing officials admitted that the information given in the price reports proved that other buyers were paying lower prices than they, with the consequence that greater efforts were made to get their prices in line, usually successfully.

Since price variations were shown to have decreased considerably on all the most comparable commodities, it is but reasonable to assume that similar reductions were made on commodities difficult or impossible to compare. Bearing in mind that the total purchases of the municipalities affected amount to millions of dollars annually, the percentage of savings represents many thousands saved in tax monies. In the writer's opinion, a large part, at least, of the credit for these savings belongs to the price service of the New York State Conference of Mayors.

HAROLD B. EVANS.
City Purchasing Agent,
Watertown, N. Y.

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Reform Becomes King in New York.—The fight over the spoils of New York politics has been replaced by a race for credit for improvements in administrative machinery. With Joseph V. McKee, president of the board of aldermen, and Mayor O'Brien each trying to outdo the other in constructive measures, it appears as though New York taxpayers might reap the benefit in the form of permanent improvement.

Things are happening so thick and fast that any generalization might be untrue by the time it appeared in print. The interesting turning of the tables which has resulted in popularity for reform may be illustrated by the recent defeat of three local bills sponsored by McKee in the board of estimate recently, and the approval of three other measures sponsored by Mayor O'Brien which contained no essential differences from the McKee bills. The three measures were all of interest to reformers: the first was a housing measure permitting tax exemption on construction of new model housing by limited dividend companies; the second provided for establishment of an executive budget under supervision of the mayor; and the third, the development of a capital outlay budget controlling expenditures for large public improvements over a period of years.

*

A City Manager Enabling Act for Missouri.—The Missouri legislature has passed a bill enabling cities of the second class to hold elections on the adoption of the city manager form of government, upon petition of 25 per cent of those voting for mayor at the preceding election. A majority voting for the plan at a special election is sufficient for adoption. The enabling act specifies a council of seven, elected at large for four-year terms, three and four members being chosen alternately every two years. Nominations are by petition of 10 per cent of the qualified voters. The council appoints a city manager but the law is seriously defective in requiring that the manager must be a taxpayer of the city and must have been a qualified voter of the city for at least five years. This does violence to one of the chief principles of council-manager government, namely, freedom to choose a manager from the best qualified persons irrespective of residence.

*

City-County Consolidation in Kansas City.—A bill has been introduced into the Missouri legislature providing for consolidation of the governments of Kansas City and Jackson County, Missouri. The bill was prepared pursuant to an article in the constitution of Missouri providing that "in all counties having a city therein containing over 100,000 inhabitants, the city and county government thereof may be consolidated in such manner as may be provided by law."

The bill creates a board of thirteen freeholders to draft the details of a plan for such consolidation. Under the provisions of the bill the consolidation project may be launched by a petition signed by 10 per cent of the qualified electors of Jackson County, requesting the election of a board of freeholders to prepare a plan for the consolidation. It is then the duty of the county court to order a special election to be called not less than sixty nor more than ninety days after presentation of the petition.

Nominations for members of the board of freeholders are also by petition signed by not less than 300 nor more than 1,000 qualified voters or by a petition signed by not less than 10 nor more than 1,000 qualified voters and accompanied by a deposit of $100 to be returned in case the candidate receives 300 votes. The bill provides for proportional representation as the system for electing the members of the board.

The bill also provides for submission of the consolidation scheme to the voters of the county for ratification and to the state legislature for its approval. The legislature under the terms of the bill, however, can only approve or reject the proposition as a whole.

*

Citizens' Councils Committee to Broadcast.—The Committee on Civic Education by Radio will lend its aid to the Committee on Citizens' Councils for Constructive Economy, in presenting a summer series of "You and Your Government" broadcasts, on the subject of Constructive Economy. Fifteen programs are being planned for every Tuesday evening from June twentieth to September twenty-sixth. They will present unbiased information on the many and various aspects of economies in government. Speakers of authority in education, welfare, recreation, finance, utilities, and other pertinent topics, will be heard. The series will be carried over a nation-wide network of the National Broadcasting Company. Professor Thomas H. Reed, Chairman of the Committee on Citizens' Councils, is also Chairman of the Committee on Civic Education by Radio which was formed more than a year ago by the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education in coöperation with The American Political Science Association.

The summer broadcasts will be the fifth of the "You and Your Government" series. The current series on Legislatures and Legislative Problems will continue through June thirteenth, on Tuesday evenings, from 7:15-7:45 Eastern Daylight Saving Time. The remaining programs on this series are:—

May 9—Aids to Legislation: Henry W. Toll, Director American Legislators' Association; Edwin E. Witte, Director Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library; DeWitt Billman, Director Illinois Legislative Reference Bureau.

May 16—Banking: Henry Parkman, Jr., State Senator, Massachusetts; Prof. Marcus Nadler, New York University.

May 23—Legislative Investigations: Senator Gerald P. Nye, North Dakota; Prof. Lindsay Rogers, Columbia University.

May 30—Unemployment: Jane Addams, Hull House; Frank Bane, Director American Public Welfare Association; Louis Brownlow, Director Public Administration Clearing House.

June 6—The Governor and the Legislature: William T. Gardiner, Governor of Maine, 1929-1933; Hugh Reid, Virginia House of Delegates; Prof. Harold W. Dodds, Princeton University.

June 13—The Legislative Product of 1933: Prof. Thomas H. Reed, University of Michigan.

*

Manager Regime Endorsed by Dallas Voters.—Vigorous endorsement of the manager regime in Dallas, Texas, was the result of the recent election there in which all of the councilmen backed by the charter association were elected by an overwhelming majority. Eight of the nine councilmen were the original councilmen who were chosen to put the manager plan into operation.

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New York State Adopts Sales and Gross Income Taxes.—A 1 per cent retail sales tax goes into effect in New York State on May 1, to continue until July 1, 1934. Food sales are exempted, as well as gasoline and public utility services, the latter being covered by special taxes already in effect. The sales tax is expected to affect over 100,000 concerns and to bring in about $2,500,000 monthly. Stores with a business of less than $1,250 in taxable goods every three months are likewise exempt, but must prove their case. The law prohibits a dealer from advertising that he absorbs any part of the tax; but, in the opinion of Mark Graves, president of the state tax commission, separate marking of the tax on price tags would permit the buyer to refuse to pay the tax, as it is supposed to be a tax on the privilege of selling and not on the consumer. It is expected that stores will mark up part of their goods enough to cover their total tax, leaving the prices of other commodities undisturbed. First returns are due in July, and every three months thereafter.

Another form of taxation adopted in New York is the 1 per cent gross income tax, which will not be collectible until 1934, however, as

it does not affect 1932 incomes. Another piece of tax legislation bearing on the lower income groups consisted of reduction in the personal exemptions for the net income tax, to the federal levels.

*

The New York City Charter Proposals.—The New York State legislature adjourned in April without enacting any of the charter proposals for New York City. Even the Desmond-Moffat bill, to permit cities to have a charter election on petition of 15 per cent of the registered voters, while it passed the Assembly, was defeated in the Senate.

A bill introduced by Mayor John P. O'Brien of New York, has been passed by the board of estimate, providing for a popular vote at the November election on the appointment of a charter commission. This would consist of seventeen members, appointed by the mayor, and would therefore be expected to prepare a charter satisfactory to the present administration. H. M. O.

*

Tax Moratorium in California.—By action of the state legislature, at the demand of taxpayers, payment of real estate taxes due municipalities on April 20 is postponed until June 20. An exception was made in the case of San Francisco, which would have been particularly hard hit by this measure on account of the cash requirements of its new charter; accordingly, only 50 per cent of the taxes due that city April 20 are postponed. Because of this exception the law is considered to be unconstitutional by various authorities, but it is not expected that any taxpayer will take it to court.

*

Critical Days for Schools in Alabama and Chicago.—In April, 85 per cent of the elementary and secondary schools of Alabama had closed, and according to Dr. A. F. Harmon, state superintendent of education, that state is facing the worst situation as to public education since the reconstruction period. As quoted in the *New York Times* for April 23, he said: "Despite all the sacrifices by teachers, the schools of fifty counties are closed. Many, after a three-months' session, closed before January 1 of the present school year, not to open again until October, if they do then. On April 1, 7,000 teachers were out of work, and the doors of 2,400 school buildings were closed in the faces of 265,000 white school children. Some counties already have gone back to a three-months' public school term such as was maintained thirty years ago. . . . The very existence of the higher institutions is threatened."

The situation is due in part to the general business depression and in part, it is reported, to the sudden shift from a borrowing policy to the strict pay-as-you-go principle in state finance, with a drastic cut in state-aid for education, in addition to the heavy reduction in local revenues. According to Dr. Harmon education bore the heaviest cut—75 per cent—in the state budget. Other state activities have also suffered to a lesser extent.

An income tax amendment is to be voted on by the people in June, which, if adopted, will provide a desperately-needed additional source of state revenue, on the sound principle of ability to pay.

In Chicago, second largest city of the country, the long-suffering school teachers, to whom $30,000,000 in back salaries is due, gave vent to a dramatic and well-organized protest on April 24. It was participated in by 5,000, according to news accounts, and included visits of large groups to five of the leading banks, where militant but orderly paraders and delegates demanded of the bankers that adequate financial aid be given to the city in order to enable payment of salaries. Mayor Kelly and Governor Horner, who was conferring with the mayor, were also called upon. Another demonstration occurred on April 26.

The president of the board of education, Orville J. Taylor, is reported as saying on the evening of April 24 that the schools would close within two or three weeks on account of the financial crisis, instead of continuing to June 23.

FINANCIAL DICTATORS REPLACE POLITICAL BOSS

(Continued from Page 234)

sentatives therefore could have all their major dealings with one man. For the time being the political boss is obliged to bow to the demands of the financier, but he is not being put out of business, and he will be with us still when the depression has lifted.

The most that can be hoped for, it would seem, is that, in the interval of bankers' domination, the forces for good government will be able to go over the top with a great many constructive measures, and that the political boss will emerge from his partial eclipse more enlightened than he has been heretofore and hence less disposed in the future to resist proposals in the interests of good government.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

A Letter from a Governor.—

Hearty thanks for yours of April 19.

I am immensely pleased to have your proposals for governmental reorganization, and your comments on bills presented to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania. Unfortunately, the Assembly has made it plain in recent weeks that it is not interested in the slightest in real governmental economy and proposes only to use economy as a measure behind which it can tear down the vital functions of the state. Our task right now is to fight this sort of hypocrisy. . . .

With all good wishes and much appreciation,

Sincerely yours,

(signed) GIFFORD PINCHOT.

President Seasongood's Book Fills a Need.—Publication under the title, "Local Government in the United States, a challenge and an opportunity," by the Harvard University Press of the Godkin Lectures delivered at Harvard in 1932 by Murray Seasongood, president of the National Municipal League, has filled a real gap in municipal governmental literature. The lectures received wide attention at the time of their delivery. This book, which is reviewed in this issue by Charles A. Beard, may be obtained through the League office or the Harvard University Press.

Council Formally Approves Organizing Citizens Councils.—Formal approval of the action of the executive committee and the work of the staff of the National Municipal League in fostering the formation of local citizens councils was registered by resolution at the meeting of the officers and members of the council held at the Union League Club, Chicago, May 27-28. Coöperation with the local groups should form an important part of the work program of the League for the immediate future, it was felt.

The committee on citizens councils for constructive economy appointed by President Seasongood recently includes representatives of fifty-six national organizations coöperating with the National Municipal League in this project. The executive committee within this large committee which has power to act has the following membership:

Chairman—Thomas H. Reed
Vice Chairman—Harold S. Buttenheim
C. R. Mann
Carl H. Milam

Members—Mrs. Hugh Bradford
Louis Brownlow
Lee F. Hanmer
Mrs. Charles Cary Rumsey
Mrs. F. Louis Slade
Miss Belle Sherwin

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary.*

Editorial Comment
June

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Harold W. Dodds Becomes President of Princeton University

Just as this issue was going to press, word was received that Harold W. Dodds, chairman of the editorial council of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, who recently resigned as editor after serving in that capacity for twelve years, had been chosen president of Princeton University by the board of trustees. Dr. Dodds' long career of distinguished public service in the field of government makes the appointment peculiarly appropriate at this time when the most serious problems are facing government in all its branches, local, state, and national—when, indeed local government in some sections is almost at the point of breakdown.

Dr. Dodds served as secretary of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE from 1920 to 1928. He became a lecturer in politics at Princeton in 1925, and professor of politics in 1927. He is chairman of the committee on political education of the American Political Science Association.

The emphasis which Princeton University in its choice of Professor Dodds as president thus indirectly places upon public affairs and government is distinctly encouraging.

Dayton Citizens' Council in Action

CRITICAL DELINQUENT TAX SITUATION LEADS COUNCIL TO LAUNCH VIGOROUS "PAY YOUR TAXES" CAMPAIGN

IF LOCAL government were completely abandoned in Montgomery County, Ohio, there would not be sufficient tax money coming in currently to take care of the debt service!

That was the critical situation faced by citizens of Dayton a month ago. It was a problem that could not be solved by the county officials. It was a problem that could not be solved by any particular group. It was a community job.

So Dayton formed a citizens' council, with Judge Carroll Sprigg as chairman, to see what could be done. Subcommittees were set up to discover what economies might be made in the various services of the local governments—per pupil costs of the school were analyzed—all in the endeavor to discover ways and means of curtailing essential services to the point where current revenues would take care of them. All efforts were fruitless. The more statistics were mar-

shalled the more it became evident that unless some way could be found to bring in taxes, debt service could not be met and fundamental functions of local government must be stopped. A breakdown of community life was in prospect.

What happened from that point on is silent testimony to the effectiveness of coöperative effort and leadership as it is inevitably developed through a citizens' council. The coöperation of some of Dayton's largest industries was sought —the National Cash Register Company —Delco Products Company, and others; all of which have quite a big stake in the community. These organizations arranged for some of their important executives to give full time to the work of the citizens' council. A "Pay Your Taxes" campaign was launched. It was not merely a publicity campaign designed to sell the idea to the public. A subcommittee of the council established itself in an office in the county court house, discovered that 40 per cent of the delinquent taxes were in the hands of less than 500 taxpayers, that delinquent taxes had jumped in three years from approximately $700,000 to approximately $12,000,000 and that the way out was through collection of some of those funds.

Dayton's economic situation had been serious. It was appreciated that in many instances non-payment of taxes represented actual inability to pay. On the other hand, it was also realized that many who could pay were taking advantage of the situation not to do so, and that others were letting their tax bills go in order to meet other obligations possibly of less immediate community importance.

So subcommittees started work in earnest. Prominent delinquent taxpayers were telephoned, requested to appear before the committee, and asked why they had not paid their taxes. Unless they could show that their financial situation was completely hopeless, the committee reasoned vigorously with them and put up to them flatly their responsibility to the community. This work is proceeding at a rapid rate. It is estimated that within another month the Dayton Citizens' Council will have several hundred individuals giving part time or full time to the work of the council—many of them employed on the delinquent tax problem.

But the Dayton Council has not stopped with the tax problem. It has realized that government in these times must be efficient. Auditors and accountants—all volunteer workers or assigned to the task by some of the industrial corporations—have been placed in the county offices, making checks of departmental systems, timing investigations and other inquiries designed to lead to recommendations which will result in increasing the efficiency of the services —that is, providing the same amount of governmental service at decreased cost.

The local officials are coöperating to the best of their ability. They appreciate that what is being done is to their interest as well as to the interest of the community. The city of Dayton, of course, operates under the city manager plan and local citizens question whether there can be much improvement in administrative methods in the city government. But the county government collects the taxes for the city and the county operating under the old political system with elective officials in the administrative offices is under a severe handicap which the officials themselves cannot overcome. An impartial citizens' agency, representing all groups in the population working with the officials, can accomplish much.

The Dayton Citizens' Council, in operation hardly more than a month, has in that short time demonstrated that there is local leadership that can be mobilized in any emergency provided a coördinating agency exists to furnish the opportunity for such leadership.

HEADLINES

The tide is turning. Conservative business and financial leaders are lining up on the side of the maintenance of essential local governmental services as opposed to indiscriminate cutting and slashing. "Pay Your Taxes" has become the slogan and symbol of the passing of hysteria.

* * *

Albemarle County, Virginia, has voted to adopt the county executive plan, which is the county manager plan slightly modified to give the board more authority than it would have under the orthodox manager set-up. Several other Virginia counties are interested.

* * *

Laws providing for permanent registration of voters have been passed by the Indiana and Illinois legislatures. This logical and economical plan is spreading rapidly as satisfactory experience accumulates.

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Bills which would have repealed direct primary laws were defeated in Indiana, Kansas, North Carolina, South Dakota, and West Virginia, according to reports from the National League of Women Voters.

* * *

Hackensack, New Jersey, has adopted the city manager plan. This is the fourth New Jersey city to take such action. Movements for the adoption of the manager plan are under way in several other New Jersey cities and the Hackensack victory should have welcome repercussions elsewhere.

* * *

Utica, New York, will again vote on the manager plan June 30. About a year ago Utica electors approved the plan but the court declared the election void because the city clerk had failed to carry out certain provisions of the law regarding advertisements of the election. Indignant Uticans should give the plan a bigger majority than before.

* * *

Pennsylvania voters will have an opportunity this fall to rescue Pittsburgh from the impasse on its plan for metropolitan government—the proposition of removing from the original consolidation amendment to the constitution the requirement that the proposal must be approved by a *two-thirds* vote in a majority of the municipal subdivisions.

A bill providing for appointment of a joint committee to study the reorganization of state government has been passed by the Utah legislature.

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Detroit municipal scrip is going begging these days with some merchants refusing to accept it. The money problem is not so easy to solve locally.

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A forty million dollar slum eradication project is planned by Mayor Curley of Boston with R. F. C. money. Housing begins to come into its own as a municipal problem.

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Maple Heights, suburb of Cleveland, Ohio, closes its schools early and may be unable to reopen them in the fall; merely one example of a pending peril and an illustration of the need for a citizens' council in critical local situations.

* * *

Delinquent taxpayers in Cook County, Illinois, are stampeding in the attempt to pay up quickly, before action is taken under provisions of the new Skarda law which makes possible appointment of a receiver to take over a property and run it until the tax money has been collected.

* * *

In Detroit the corporation counsel has decided the treasurer has authority to collect rents from tenants of buildings on which taxes are delinquent—which is another effective way of collecting taxes quickly!

* * *

The New York City board of estimate has evolved a novel tax scheme—a city registration fee for automobiles and bridge tolls to be paid by cars from outside the city. The car of a local citizen is to carry a medallion giving free passage on bridges. And the tax on taxicabs becomes highly significant with the addition of a five-cent fee per passenger.

* * *

Traffic signs in a southwestern city have gone to seed as one consequence of false economy. One traffic accident might be enough to affect this form of foolish saving.

* * *

County home rule, permitting the local adoption of modern types of county government, is expected to be voted on in August in the state of Texas.